Rethinking decreolization: Language contact and change in Louisiana Creole

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Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. The thesis does not exceed 80,000 words, including footnotes, references and appendices.

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Abstract

All languages change. Creoles are no exception. However, do creoles change in the same ways as other languages? Research on language change in creoles has hinged on the notion of decreolization: apparently a 'special case' of contact-induced change whereby the creole adverges to the lexifier (Bickerton 1980). Decreolization has been characterized as 'an insecure notion: insufficiently distinguished from ordinary change processes, possibly conceptually incoherent, and certainly not adequately supported by diachronic investigations to date' (Patrick 1999:19, see also Aceto 1999, Russell 2015, Siegel 2010). This study tests whether decreolization can truly be distinguished from 'ordinary' change processes in non-creole languages and, crucially, brings diachronic corpus data to bear on this major gap in our understanding of language contact, change and creoles

These data are drawn from Louisiana Creole, a critically endangered and under-researched French-lexifier creole. Louisiana Creole is particularly well-suited to a study of decreolization: over the course of its life, it has been in contact with its lexifier (French) and a more distantly related language (English). This allows a comparative study of the outcomes of contact between the creole and its lexifier (i.e. Louisiana Creole-French contact) and a dominant language which is not its lexifier (i.e. Louisiana Creole-English contact). Further, different varieties of Louisiana Creole have had differing levels of contact over their history: the variety spoken along the Bayou Teche is typically described as heavily decreolized as a result of contact with French as well as being heavily influenced by English (Neumann 1985a); the variety spoken along the Mississippi river, from which the former variety developed, has had relatively less contact with French (Klingler 2003a). Additionally, this thesis demonstrates that Louisiana's long history of racial segregation has significantly impacted the sociolinguistic dynamics in the region, with LC undergoing differing levels of contact with French on either side of the Jim Crow divide.

Data on the morphosyntactic, phonological and lexical consequences of language contact are drawn from a purpose-built diachronic corpus containing 19th-century folklore texts, 20th-century language documentation materials as well as a transcribed subsample of some 50 hours of sociolinguistic interviews conducted in early 2017. In addition, a corpus of Facebook data is used analyze the language of the burgeoning online language revitalization community.

Ultimately, this thesis finds that contact-induced change in Louisiana Creole does not proceed in a creole-specific fashion. It is therefore argued that language contact and change in creole languages is better characterized through existing theoretical frameworks and not through the creole-specific notion of decreolization. The intention of this thesis is not to dismiss decades of work on decreolization; rather, this thesis demonstrates that work on decreolization can be integrated into a non-creole-specific account of language contact, variation and change and so contribute to our understanding of the universal factors which modulate these phenomena.

pou moun ki vini avan

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Travay fé, pi li gonn —
Travay-ça li dur pou bon

Dao De Ching II, Lao Tzu

Oliver Flynn Mayeux
Cambridge, 2019

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List of Abbreviations

AAE	African American English
ACS	American Community Survey
CAAVE	Creole African American Vernacular English (Dubois & Horvarth 2003)
CN	Corpus texts: '*contes nègres*' in Neumann-Holzschuh (1987)
CODOFIL	Council for the Development of French in Louisiana
CP	Complementizer Phrase
DECA	*Dictionnaire étymologique des créoles français d'Amérique* (Bollée et al. 2017, 2018)
DLC	Dictionary of Louisiana Creole (Valdman et al. 1998)
DLF	Dictionary of Louisiana French (Valdman et al. 2010)
DP	Determiner Phrase
DU	Corpus texts: Durand (1930)
FO	Corpus texts: Fortier (1895)
N85	Corpus texts: Neumann (1985)
NH87	Neumann-Holzschuh (1987)
L1	First language
L2	Second language
LC	Louisiana Creole
LCDC	Louisiana Creole Diachronic Corpus
LCVC	Louisiana Creole Virtual Classroom
LCVCC	Louisiana Creole Virtual Classroom Corpus
LE	Louisiana regional English varieties
LF	Louisiana regional French varieties
LOLI	Lone other-language item
M2017	Corpus texts: Fieldwork data, Mississippi (2017)
MLC	Mississippi variety of Louisiana Creole
MLIC	Mon Louis Island Creole (MC of Mon Louis Island, Alabama)
OCR	Optical Character Recognition
OLC	'old' Louisiana Creole (1900 and earlier)
PLD	Primary Linguistic Data
PP	Prepositional Phrase
PSF	Plantation Society French
RF	Reference French
TAM	Tense, Aspect, Mood-Modality
T2017	Corpus texts: Fieldwork data, Teche (2017)
TLC	Teche variety of Louisiana Creole
TP	Corpus texts: Trappey (1916)
USA	United States of America
USCB	United States Census Bureau
VP	Verb Phrase

Chapter 1. Language obsolescence and decreolization

1.0 Introduction

Ina kreyòl, kreyòl, epi na kreyòl
'There's Creole, Creole and then there's Creole'
(M2017ML)

All languages change. Creoles are no exception. However, do creoles change in the same ways as other languages? Research on language change in creoles has hitherto relied on the notion of *decreolization*: apparently defined as a 'special case' of contact-induced change whereby the creole adverges to the lexifier (Bickerton 1980). Decreolization has been characterized as 'an insecure notion: insufficiently distinguished from ordinary change processes, possibly conceptually incoherent, and certainly not adequately supported by diachronic investigations to date' (Patrick 1999:19; see also Aceto 1999; Russell 2015; Siegel 2010). To address this major shortcoming in our understanding of creoles, language contact and language change, this thesis asks the following research questions: (i) can decreolization indeed be characterized as a 'special case' of language change? (ii) can language change in creoles be adequately described using existing, crosslinguistically-applicable frameworks?

In answering these questions, this investigation draws evidence from Louisiana Creole (LC), a critically endangered French-lexifier creole which developed in what is now Louisiana, USA. LC is particularly well-suited to testing the notion of decreolization: over the course of its existence, it has been in contact with both its lexifier (French) and a more distantly related language (English). This allows a comparative study of the outcomes of contact between the creole and its lexifier (i.e. LC-French contact, a 'special case' of decreolization) and a language which is not its lexifier (i.e. LC-English contact, an 'ordinary' case of language change). Further, different varieties of LC have been undergone contact of differing intensities over their history: the variety spoken along the Bayou Teche is typically described as heavily decreolized as a result of contact with French as well as being heavily influenced by English (Neumann 1985a); the variety spoken along the Mississippi river, from which the Teche variety developed, has had relatively less contact with French (Klingler 2003a). Additionally, this thesis demonstrates that Louisiana's long history of racial segregatation has significantly impacted the sociolinguistic dynamics in the region, with LC exposed to differing levels of contact with French on either side of the Jim Crow divide.

The empirical core of this thesis comprises morphosyntactic (Chapter 4), phonological (Chapter 5) and lexical (Chapter 6) analyses in both quantitative and qualitative dimensions. Data are drawn from the Louisiana Creole Diachronic Corpus (LCDC), an original tool developed specifically for this thesis which comprises 19th-century folklore texts, 20th-century language documentation materials as well as a transcribed subsample of some 50 hours of new field recordings conducted in early 2017. Further, this thesis includes analysis of the language usage of the burgeoning online language revitalization community, using a corpus of built from Facebook data (Chapter 7). These analyses are drawn together in Chapter 8, which argues for a rethinking of the notion of decreolization, which has for so long dominated studies of language contact and change in creoles. Preceding this, two chapters address the sociohistorical (Chapter 2) and methodological (Chapter 3) background to this work.

The present chapter sets the theoretical stage for the thesis by reviewing contemporary theories of language contact and change relative to the theory of decreolization. As LC is critically endangered—§2.3 provides a new estimate of between 3,500 and 6,000 speakers, almost exclusively over the age of 60—I focus here on language changes which occur in other contexts of intensive language contact and language shift, within the paradigm of language obsolescence. Language obsolescence (§1.1), I show, can be straightforwardly positioned relative to current data and theory in the field of contact linguistics using a universalist approach. The creole-specific concept of decreolization (§1.2), on the other hand, cannot. Indeed, revisiting data from studies of decreolization in light of the universalist approach outlined in §1.1 uncovers a number of flaws in that concept, namely:

(i)

which form the basis for the analysis in this thesis.

1.1. Obsolescence

When languages come into contact with each other, they exert differing degrees of linguistic influence on each other. Especially intense situations of language contact—such those observed in the context of language endangerment—may result in the language falling out of usage entirely ('language death'). Language death is the endpoint of language obsolescence, a phenomenon of language contact and change with particular sociolinguistic (§1.1.2) and linguistic (§1.1.3) dimensions. In preparation for an examination of these dimensions, it is necessary to establish a broad point of

departure by situating language obsolescence within the larger field of language contact and change (§1.1.1). This demonstrates that studies in language obsolescence can be described within a mainstream framework, whereby language change can be attributed to sociolinguistic (§1.1.2), language-internal (§1.1.3.1) and language-external factors (§1.1.3.2) (Jones & Esch 2002). In §1.2, I attempt to do the same with decreolization as a frame-of-reference, a discussion which highlights a number of shortcomings and unanswered questions in that framework.

1.1.1. Defining language contact, change and obsolescence

1.1.1.1. Language contact

Broadly speaking, the literature on 'contact linguistics' (Heine & Kuteva 2005; Myers-Scotton 2002) can be divided into two approaches which differ chiefly in their emphasis on either sociolinguistic or psycholinguistic factors (Lucas 2014). The reason for this differing emphasis can be traced to what Lucas (2014) identifies as a divide between 'acquisitionist' and 'sociohistorical' perspectives on language change.

Following Chomsky, I-language—the competence of the individual speaker—is taken as the primary object of study. Influenced by this tradition, many studies of language contact phenomena focus on bilingualism, code-switching, first (L1) and second (L2) language acquisition and L1 attrition (see e.g. Myers-Scotton 2002; Siegel 2009; Winford 2003), i.e. on the varying competence of individual speakers. From this perspective, 'the actual site of language contact is in the minds of speakers using more than one language' (Siegel 2009:569).

Late-20th century increase in interest in the role of contact in grammatical change was influenced by seminal work by Uriel Weinreich (1979 [1953]) and Sarah Thomason & Terrence Kaufman (1988). Influenced by the contemporary Labovian variationist tradition, for Thomason & Kaufman (1988) linguistic differences at the level of individual speakers only comprise idiolectal variation. The locus for change is situated in social groups within the speech community rather than individuals' mental representations of grammar, and the variation leading to this change is the result of social factors. The causes of linguistic change are therefore firmly rooted in the sociolinguistic history of the speech community in question (see §1.2).

However, as Lucas (2012, 2014) points out, these two perspectives are by no means irreconcilable. Language contact can be seen as a complex phenomenon involving interaction between community- and individual-level phenomena: both psycho- and sociolinguistic approaches do emphasize the individual speaker, either as an individual whose mind is a potential

locus of language change or as an individual embedded in a speech community (cf. van Coetsem 1988, 2000). This aspect has been especially emphasized in obsolescence studies (after Dorian 1981, see §1.1.1.3). Furthermore, both psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives employ the concept of 'dominance'. On the one hand, a language can be socio-politically dominant at the community level and therefore be the target of language shift (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Thomason 2001, 2015; see §1.1.2.1). On the other hand, a language can also be dominant in the minds of bilingual speakers (Lucas 2012, 2014; Myers-Scotton 2002; see §1.1.1.3). In obsolescence situations, the fact that an L2 comes to be dominant in the mind of speaker is the result of social processes.

Compare the definition of language contact given by Siegel (2009, above) to Weinreich's original definition: 'two or more languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternately by the same person' (Weinreich 1979 [1953]:1). It would seem that the apparent divide between sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic perspectives is not fundamental and is primarily a difference of emphasis. The broad understanding of language contact in this thesis therefore emerges from the understanding that the psycholinguistic specificities of multilingualism, L1/L2 acquisition, code-switching, and, importantly, language change are situated within, and interact with, the sociohistorical and sociolinguistic reality. In this regard, the approach here has much in common with work by e.g. Aboh (2015, 2017), Biberauer (2017, 2018 cf. Biberauer et al. 2014) and Lucas (2012, 2014). I therefore broadly agree with Aboh insofar as he defines language contact as 'the coexistence and competition between linguistic systems (viz. languages, dialects, or idiolects) in the mind of the same speaker […] between two (or more) different lexica and between typologically different linguistic systems, though the differences vary from minor to very significant ones' (Aboh 2015:5).

1.1.1.2. Language change

Discussion of language change conventionally identifies two subtypes of that process: internal and external change. The first is the product of 'language-internal' factors. There is a very large literature which aims to identify, describe and explain these internal factors. Bybee (2015) argues that internal change arises as a result of language usage, where frequency, amongst others, is an important diagnostic (cf. Diessel 2007). In mainstream generativist perspective (e.g. Roberts 2007; Biberauer & Roberts 2008, 2017) internal change arises largely (though not wholly) through parameter changes driven by L1 acquisition which result in new I-languages. 'Sometimes the ambient speech may shift a little, yielding new primary data so that some children hear different things, and then there may be new internal languages. That is when we have bumpy changes, phase

transitions, and new I-language systems emerge' Lightfoot 2010:681, cf. Lightfoot 1999; see also Willis 2016 on exaptative change).

The second subtype of change is the result of 'language-external' factors ('external change'). When languages come into contact with each other, changes which originate in the grammar of one language often induce change in that of another ('contact-induced change') (Chamoreau & Léglise 2012; Farrar & Jones 2002; Thomason 2001, 2015). External change has generally not received as much theoretical attention as internal change (Farrar & Jones 2002; Heine & Kuteva 2005; Lucas 2014; Thomason & Kaufman 1988). According to Thomason & Kaufman (1988:3), early work in the Comparative Method generally viewed contact-induced change as superfluous to the more important task of determining a language's genetic affiliation, rejecting claims that 'es gibt keine völlig ungemischte Sprache' (Schuchardt 1884:5).[1] In the 1920s, structuralist linguists sought to move away from diachrony, instead focusing on language as a synchronic system: this meant historical studies of the language were sidelined. Later, formal linguistics also set its sights firmly on internal change, a standpoint driven by the Chomskyan emphasis on the ideal speaker in a homogeneous speech community (Lucas 2014: 519). Lucas (2014:519) cites an extract from Lass (1997:209) which exemplifies the view of some historical linguists: 'an endogenous explanation of a phenomenon is more parsimonious, because endogenous change *must* occur in any case, whereas borrowing is never necessary.'

Indeed, despite the well-established dichotomy, it is often extremely difficult to definitively class the motivation behind a given change as external or internal (Farrar & Jones 2002, Lucas 2014). Rather, it is important to leave open the possibility of 'multiple causation' (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:57) or 'ambiguous change' (Mougeon & Beniak 1991:218) as a particular grammatical change may be motivated both internally and externally. Later work such as Farrar & Jones (2002) and Chamoreau & Léglise (2012) has developed this idea further, positioning the interaction between factors both internal and external at the heart of their account and arguing that it is vital to consider contemporary and historical sociolinguistic factors together.

This thesis adopts such a 'multi-model' (Chamoreau & Léglise 2012:1) or 'pluralist' (Farrar & Jones 2002:9) approach to language change. Such an approach is well-suited to discussion of language obsolescence, given the interacting sociolinguistic (§1.1.2) and linguistic (§1.1.3) factors which characterize that process.

[1] 'there are no fully unmixed languages' (unless otherwise specified, all translations in this thesis are my own).

1.1.1.3. The role of the speaker in language obsolescence

Field linguists traditionally sought to record what they viewed as the most 'authentic' or 'pure' form of the language, 'uncorrupted' by external influence and spoken by what seemed to be the most fluent speakers (Dorian 1977:30; Thomason 2001:237, 2015:55). Apparent deviations from the perceived norm were viewed as 'deficient'. The following comments by Leonard Bloomfield are often cited (e.g. by Dorian 2014; Holloway 1997; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Thomason 2001) as an illustration of this: 'White-Thunder, a man around forty, speaks less English than Menomini, and that is a strong indictment, for his Menomini is atrocious. His vocabulary is small; his inflections are often barbarous; he constructs sentences of a few threadbare models.' (Bloomfield 1927:395)

The characterization of White Thunder and other speakers as 'deficient' went largely unproblematized until the ground-breaking work of Nancy Dorian, who turned what had previously been derided into one of the most important phenomena of a new field of study.[2] In her work on East Sutherland Gaelic, Dorian (1977, 1981) identified a category of 'semi-speakers': 'As the language dies, a group of imperfect speakers characteristically appears who have not had sufficiently extensive exposure to the home language, or who have been much more extensively exposed to some other language; and if they continue to use the home language at all, they use it in a form which is markedly different from the fluent-speaker norm.' (Dorian 1981:115). Dorian (1977, 1981) notes that most semi-speakers produce different structures in East Sutherland Gaelic when compared to fluent speakers. Particularly, she identifies the following phenomena: an absence of stylistic options, a preference for analytic over synthetic constructions, analogical levelling (Dorian 1977:140; see also §1.1.3.1.3). Dorian (1977) also noted great variation in semi-speakers' speech, both when comparing speakers' production and within the production of the same speaker. Tsitsipis (1981) and Dorian (1999) characterize this variation as a continuum. This variation is sometimes correlated with age (the older the speaker, the more limited their proficiency), but this is not always the case (Dorian 1981; Holloway 1997:33ff.).

The particular features of semi-speakers' speech are explained by two factors according to the definition in Dorian (1981:155) above: (i) insufficient exposure to the language and (ii) more intensive exposure to second language. Menn (1989) proposed distinguishing between two kinds of speakers on the basis of these factors, limiting the definition of semi-speakers to those affected by

[2] Dorian (2014:8) herself credits Wolfgang Dressler with first drawing attention to the importance of studying the language of what he termed 'terminal speakers'

(i). Menn (1989) proposed a second category of 'rusty speakers' for those affected by (ii) ('formerly fluent speakers' in Dorian 1994). The distinction between rusty speakers and semi-speakers has since been mentioned by e.g. Ahland (2010:33), Boas (2009:19ff.) Holloway (1997:29ff.), Grinevald and Bert (2011), Jones (1996, 1998b:246), Sasse (1992:23) amongst others. However, even in those studies that do mention it, the distinction between rusty and semi-speakers is not always upheld (though cf. Ahland 2010). Holloway (1997) mentions rusty speakers but does not formally distinguish them from semi-speakers, at times appearing to consider these one and the same. For example, Holloway (1997:32) discusses how reduced use of a language can lead to its reduced form, in *semi-speakers* rather than rusty speakers. The distinction between these two categories is important for understanding some of the psycholinguistic processes underlying change in obsolescent languages, especially internal change. Semi-speakers and rusty speakers owe their characteristic language proficiency to special cases of L1 acquisition and L1 attrition, respectively. By distinguishing between rusty speakers and semi-speakers, it may be possible that differences can be found in the respective language production of each group. These differences may shed light on the great diversity found in the proficiency of speakers of obsolescent languages (e.g. between Aikhenvald's 'obsolescent speaker' and Dorian's 'semi-speakers', above). Further, it is possible that such an approach may enable investigation of the relationship between L1 acquisition and L1 attrition, an important issue for both fields (Berko Gleason 1993; Schmid 2011, 2016). The distinctiveness of the two processes (Berko Gleason 1993) suggest that some differences might be observed between the linguistic outcomes of 'imperfect' L1 acquisition in semi-speakers and of L1 attrition in rusty speakers (see also Cook 1995).

In particular, there are many unexplored links between the concept of rusty speakers in the language obsolescence literature and the literature on L1 attrition (Dorian 2014:11). In discussion of language obsolescence, the term 'attrition' has been used by e.g. Sarah Thomason to refer to a community-level process that involves 'the loss of words and structural features, with no replacement features taking their place' (Thomason 2015:57; see also Thomason 2001:227). However, Thomason (2001, 2015) describes community-level 'attrition' as a gradual process that takes place over several generations and not within the lifetime of any one speaker. Clearly, this is not the same phenomenon as L1 attrition, a process by which an individual speaker loses proficiency in their L1 over the course of their lifespan (Schmid 2011). Here, care will be taken not to conflate community-level attrition with L1 attrition and the label 'attrition' refers only to the latter. The role of L1 attrition

in language obsolescence has previously been explored by e.g. Dressler (1991), Maher (1991) and Menn (1989). Apart from these early studies, however, little attention has been given to the connection between L1 attrition and rusty speakers of obsolescent languages and no detailed study has yet been carried out (cf. Sasse 2001:1676, Gathercole & Thomas 2009, Thomas & Gathercole 2007; see also recent remarks in Polinsky 2018:333ff.).

Lucas (2012) implements L1 attrition in his account of contact-induced change, where he defines it as 'some bilingualism-induced alteration in a speaker's competence and/or performance'. It is his argument that grammatical changes occur as the result of the increased accessibility of L2 forms in bilingual speakers serving as input for the next generation. For a speaker with long-term L2 exposure and usage and no opportunity to use their L1, the neural networks associated with L2 structures will be strong relative to those associated with the L1 (see Ecke 2004 for an overview on theories of forgetting and L1 attrition). It follows that there will be a decrease in the accessibility of these networks, while L2 networks will be readily accessible. When a speaker of this type attempts to produce an utterance in their L1, they need to simultaneously retrieve weak L1 representations whilst inhibiting the stronger L2 representations. The high cognitive load associated with these tasks may result in influence from the L2 (Lucas 2012:292). Language obsolescence provides the social conditions suitable for such subtractive bilingualism (Jones 1998b:257). What is, in Thomason & Kaufman's terms, the more socially and politically dominant language can also come to serve as cognitively dominant language for members of that speech community (Winford 2005:377). More precisely: social factors will lead to a reduction in opportunities for speakers to use and be exposed to their minority L1, resulting in its attrition and the speaker's 'rustiness'. For L1 attrition in non-pathological speakers such as rusty speakers, '[e]vidence overwhelmingly points towards what difficulties there are being only temporary' (Schmid 2011:18). The literature on language obsolescence points to instances where speakers have recovered their L1 fluency as a result of interaction with other speakers (Thomason 2015:57) or even with a linguist (Holloway 1997:71).

The relationship between L1 acquisition in semi-speakers, L1 attrition in rusty speakers and contact-induced change in obsolescence merits further research, especially given the recent growth of interest in L1 attrition (see Schmid 2016, Simpson 2015). Since the utterances of semi-speakers and rusty speakers serve as the main input for primary linguistic data for the next generation, an understanding of their language usage will be vital to developing the theory of language

obsolescence. Before such a study can be conducted on LC data, it is first necessary to tackle the question of decreolization. This is the task of this thesis.

1.1.1.4. A note on terminology

Before moving on, it is necessary to clarify the terminology that will be used in this thesis. In her recent introduction to endangered languages, Thomason has been careful to avoid 'lethal labels' which have probably arisen as a result of the metaphorical frame of LANGUAGE AS A LIVING THING conjured up by the term 'language death' (Thomason 2015:68, cf. Crystal 2000). Prescriptive labels such as 'language decay' (Sasse 1992) and biological metaphors such as 'language murder and language suicide' (Aitchison 2001) are common throughout the literature on language endangerment, and even very well-known terms such as 'semi-speaker' (Dorian 1977) and, indeed, 'language death' and 'language obsolescence' are problematic. All these terms have a potential pejorative reading, even if in practice linguists have only rarely employed them in such a way. In her latest remarks on the matter, Dorian (2014:12) comments that these terms have largely fallen out of favour with linguists, to be replaced with discussion of 'language endangerment'. Dorian (2014:13) cites Hill (2002), who argues that 'linguists and anthropologists may unwittingly undermine their own vigorous advocacy of endangered languages by a failure to think carefully about the multiple audiences who may hear and read advocacy rhetoric' (Hill 2002:119). As has been pointed out in cases of e.g. language-naming (Léglise & Migge 2006), academic discourses on endangerment do feed back and impact the language attitudes and ideologies of the speech community (see also Hill 2002; Sallabank 2013:60*f.*). In this thesis, care is taken to avoid loaded terms such as Sasse's 'decay' or Aitchison's 'murder' and 'suicide'. Though Dorian (2014:13) comments that even 'language death' is itself becoming unpopular, she also concedes that any replacement terminology would likely also accrue negative connotations. This thesis thus follows Thomason (2015:68) in employing only the established core terminology of the field (namely: 'language death', 'language obsolescence', 'semi-speaker'). Further, I maintain a clear distinction between language endangerment and obsolescence (unlike e.g. O'Shannessy 2011; Palosaari & Campbell 2011). Language endangerment is here defined as the loss of linguistic diversity or an individual language as a social phenomenon. The specific linguistic and sociolinguistic consequences of this phenomenon—i.e. language shift and grammatical change—are discussed under the label 'language obsolescence'. The endpoint of this process of obsolescence—when the language has passed the point of linguistic 'tip' (see §1.1.2.3)—is termed 'language death'. The distinction between endangered and obsolescent languages is

important because not all languages undergo structural change as a result of their endangerment (see §1.1.2.2), nor do they all fall out of usage through gradual shift (see §1.1.2.4).

1.1.2. Sociolinguistic factors in obsolescence

For Thomason & Kaufman, '[t]he history of a language is a function of the history of its speakers' (1988:4). Individual speakers form part of a speech community, and individual language usage is affected by this wider sociolinguistic context. Languages do not die from 'structuritis' (Johanson 2002a, 2002b). That is, language death does not result from the culmination of linguistic processes (described in §1.1.3), but is always caused by sociolinguistic factors (Dorian 1981:154, Jones 1998b:240, Thomason 2015:44).

When peoples and languages come into contact with each other, they often exert a cultural and linguistic influence which may be asymmetrical. Depending on the intensity of the contact and the inter-group power relations, the influence of one language over the other may be more or less extensive and can induce different linguistic changes (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:10). Language obsolescence is characterized by particularly intense contact which may lead eventually to language death. Sasse (1992:10) identifies three factors which shape this process. First, the External Setting: the social, cultural, political and economic processes which pressure a community to shift language. Second, the Speech Behaviour: Fishman's 'who speaks what language to whom and when' (1991). Third, the Structural Consequences: lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactic change (see §1.3). These factors form an 'implicational chain' (Sasse 1992:10), such that the External Setting impacts the speech community's Speech Behaviour which in turn provokes linguistic change. An attempt to explain structural change in language obsolescence from a purely linguistic perspective is thus 'unrealistic and counterintuitive' (1992:10). Thomason & Kaufman (1988:17) argue that it is sociolinguistic rather than typological constraints which shape change, rejecting earlier claims by Jakobson that languages are only susceptible to contact-induced change when this process aligns with ongoing processes of internally motivated change (Jakobson 1962 [1938]:241). Instead, it is sociolinguistic factors and their interaction with linguistic factors which shape the nature of these changes (as in Chamoreau & Léglise 2012; Farrar & Jones 2002). As Dorian puts it: 'In general it seems possible to suggest that sociolinguistic factors, rather than purely linguistic features, distinguish change in dying languages from change in "healthy" languages' (Dorian 1981:154)

Following Dorian's seminal work, this perspective has been adopted as mainstream in studies of language obsolescence. Case studies of obsolescent languages usually feature detailed

information about the sociolinguistic history of the speech community. In monograph-length studies, a chapter is generally dedicated to this purpose. See, for example: Ahland (2010:Ch.2), Boas (2009:Ch.2), Dorian (1981:Ch.1-3), Jones (1998b:6-40, 2001:Ch.2, 2015:Ch.2-4), Holloway (1997:Ch.3), Rottet (2001:Ch.3). And, for LC: Klingler (2003a:Ch.3) on Pointe Coupee Parish, Neumann (1985a:6ff.) on St Martin Parish. For this thesis, Chapter 2 provides a sociolinguistic and sociohistorical background.

Broadly, there are two reasons for this focus on sociolinguistic history. First, to reiterate, the importance of including such a perspective is that it is the sociolinguistic context which provokes and shapes structural change in obsolescence. Second, by comparing case studies, scholars of language obsolescence hope to find crosslinguistic commonalities which may contribute to a theory of that process (Sasse 1992). Language change is not predictable but is possible that thorough investigation of sociolinguistic factors may be the key to understanding why certain phenomena arise in some cases but not others (Thomason 1997:8). On this basis, this section discusses four sociolinguistic factors which are generally discussed in case studies of obsolescence. First, the Speech Behaviour of the community and the phenomena of language shift and maintenance which provoke structural change. Second, the intensity of contact which shapes the nature of these changes. Third, the point of linguistic 'tip' (Dorian 1981), a vital point which defines the stability of a contact situation. Fourth, a typology of language death is discussed which generalizes about the endpoint of obsolescence.

1.1.2.1. Language shift and language maintenance

At the core of Thomason & Kaufman (1988) is the distinction between language shift and language maintenance. In the first case, the speech community 'shifts' from their own language to another, more sociopolitically dominant language. In the second case, the speech community 'maintains' their language, though not always without influence from the other language. Speakers maintaining their L1 may borrow features from the more dominant language, leading to particular structural changes. By the same token, speakers shifting to a dominant L2 may lead to transfer from the L1 (termed 'interference' by Thomason & Kaufman). If transfer is pervasive enough, it may result in substrate influence (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:37). Through use of these two constructs Thomason & Kaufman (1988) provide a more nuanced account of contact-induced language change than e.g. Weinreich (1979), who used 'interference' as a general term for all contact-induced change regardless of its directionality. Van Coetsem (1988, 2000), Winford (2005) and Lucas (2012, 2014)

present a related model of contact-induced change centered around the idea of 'speaker agentivity', aimed at addressing less specific aspects in Thomason & Kaufman's model (see §1.1.3.2).

One key justification for this distinction is the apparent qualitative difference between borrowing and substrate interference. The first target of borrowing is the lexicon, resulting in the appearance of loanwords which are integrated into the wider grammatical system of the language, i.e. they acquire that language's phonological, morphological and syntactic characteristics. In cases of substrate interference, the opposite is claimed to be the case: the main target of this process is the phonology, syntax and in some cases morphology. Therefore, these structural features appear in the target language of the shifting group (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:37). Another important distinction made between these two processes is the rate of change: borrowing in situations of language maintenance can be much slower than the substrate influence in language shift, which may take place in as little as one generation (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:41). Instead, the quality and quantity of features that can be transferred depends on the intensity of language contact.

They also note that this means that shift and maintenance may occur simultaneously, as is the case in obsolescence (see §1.1.3.2). There can also be 'layers of dominance' (O'Shannessy 2011:92), whereby a dominant language can in turn be dominated by another, more prestigious variety. O'Shannessy (2011:92) gives an example from Australia, where Australian English, Aboriginal English and Kriol are all in dominant contact relationships with indigenous Australian languages. Kriol is a mixed language derived from indigenous languages and English, occupying a lower prestige than that language. At the same time, Kriol is threatening indigenous Australian languages due to its ability to act as 'a pan-indigenous language which shows local variation and distinction' (O'Shannessy 2011: 92).

1.1.2.2. Intensity of contact: The Borrowing Scale

Early discussion of contact-induced change (e.g. Jakobson 1962 [1938]) placed purely typological constraints on this process. However, Thomason & Kaufman's approach emphasizes that, in addition to the typological and lexical distance between two languages, the constraints on borrowing and substrate are primarily sociolinguistic. '[A]ny linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language' (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:14). Instead, the quality and quantity of features that can be transferred depends on the intensity of language contact, which is determined mainly by the inter-group power relations ('sociopolitical dominance' Thomason & Kaufman 1988:72). Thomason & Kaufman also note that this means that shift and maintenance may

occur simultaneously. In contact contexts where one group is sociopolitically dominant over the other will likely result in the minority group shifting into the dominant language whilst simultaneously borrowing from it (1988:72). Thomason & Kaufman devise a Borrowing Scale (summarized Table 1) which uses intensity of contact as a scale against which to plot the quantity of borrowing expected as well as the linguistic domain it is likely to impact.

To summarize the Borrowing Scale in the most basic terms: the greater the intensity of contact, the greater the amount and extent of borrowing. While lexical items are borrowed even in casual contact situations, syntax, phonology and morphology can only be borrowed in cases of more intense contact. In the most intense contact situations, the language may undergo obsolescence and, possibly, death. However, intensive contact is not exclusive to situations of obsolescence and death (Jones 1998b:247) and languages can be in close contact without leading to obsolescence or death (e.g. Alemannic and French in Switzerland, Weinreich 1979). Thus, it is vital to understand the factors which may suddenly 'tip' the balance of power in favour of a particular language.

CASUAL CONTACT	**Lexicon**	-	*Content words only: non-basic vocabulary borrowed before basic vocabulary.*
	Phonology	-	-
	Syntax	-	-
	Morphology	-	-
SLIGHTLY MORE INTENSE CONTACT	**Lexicon**	-	*Function words: conjunctions and adverbials.*
	Phonology	-	*Appearance of new phonemes with new phones in loanwords only.*
	Syntax	-	*Non-disruptive new functions and new orderings.*
	Morphology	-	-
MORE INTENSE CONTACT	**Lexicon**	-	*Function words: adpositions.*
		-	*Derivational affixes*
		-	*Inflectional affixes attached to and confined to borrowed lexemes.*
		-	*Basic vocabulary: Personal and demonstrative pronouns and low numerals.*
	Phonology	-	*Phonemicization of previously allophonic alternations, even in native vocabulary, especially where distinctive features are already present.*
		-	*Suprasegmental features* (*i.e. prosodic and syllable-structure features*)
	Syntax	-	*Some reordering, though not complete, e.g. postpositions in a prepositional language*
	Morphology	-	-
STRONG CULTURAL PRESSURE	**Lexicon**	-	*As above.*
	Phonology	-	*New distinctive features*
		-	*Loss of contrasts*
		-	*New syllable structure constraints*
		-	*Allophonic rules*
	Syntax	-	*Fairly extensive word order changes*
		-	*Other changes that do not cause categorial alteration*
	Morphology	-	*Borrowed inflectional affixes and categories added to native words, especially if there is a typological bias*
VERY STRONG CULTURAL PRESSURE	**Lexicon**	-	*As above.*
	Phonology	-	*Morphophonemic rules*
		-	*Phonetic changes*
		-	*Loss of phonemic contrasts*
	Syntax	-	*As above*
	Morphology	-	*Changes in word structure rules*
		-	*Categorial changes*
		-	*Other extensive changes, e.g. development of ergative system*
		-	*Added concord rules*

Table 1. Borrowing Scale (*Thomason & Kaufman 1988:74ff.*)

1.1.2.3. Tip

Though contexts of stable bilingualism and diglossia are widespread, there is also the possibility of 'tip' (Dorian 1981: 51). This is the 'linguistic point of no return' (Jones 1998b:5) when an apparently stable contact situation shifts drastically in favour of a dominant language. In the case of the East Sutherland Gaelic community, the social and economic integration of East Sutherland saw the arrival of the cultural dominance of English, from which the region had previously been insulated. Despite the apparent suddenness of tip, the conditions precipitating it were 'centuries in the making' in that English had long been on the rise throughout Scotland (Dorian 1981:51). In a similar and more recent example, Lam (2009) analyzes the path of language shift from Upper Necaxa Totonac to Spanish in Eastern Mexico. The two languages have been in contact since the late 1700s, but it is only in the past half-century that the speech community of Upper Necaxa Totonac has begun to shift to Spanish. Lam (2009) reports that the linguistic tip for the language occurred as a result of social and economic changes during this period, specifically the introduction of Spanish-language education and a shift from subsistence farming to a cash economy. In turn, this has reinforced stigma towards the traditional lifestyle and language, which are viewed as irrelevant in the context of the modern world (Lam 2009).

1.1.2.4. Typology of Language Death

Tip and the subsequent gradual decline of the language is the prototypical case of language obsolescence according to Sasse (1992:22). The result of this process has been termed 'gradual death' by Campbell & Muntzel (1989:185), who proposed the first detailed typology of language death situations. Though other typologies have since been proposed (e.g. Batibo 2005:87ff.), that of Campbell & Muntzel still enjoys widest currency and is cited in contemporary overviews of the field (e.g. several papers in Austin & Sallabank 2011; Thomason 2015:42; Tsunoda 2005:42ff.) as well as in recent case studies, e.g. Ahland (2010), Boas (2009), Roesch (2012). Campbell & Muntzel's typology is summarized in Table 2.

Type of language death	**Impact**	**Description**
Sudden Death	Language lost instantly	Due to genocide, natural disaster or other lethal event, all speakers of the language are killed.
Radical Death	Rapid language shift	Due to genocide, other violence or political oppression, speakers abandon the language as a 'survival strategy'
Gradual Death	Gradual language shift	Due social, political and/or economic pressures, speakers gradually shift to the dominant language.
Bottom-to-Top Death	Loss of stylistic registers	Language is used in fewer and fewer domains but remains confined to e.g. religious contexts

Table 2. Typology of Language Death, summary from Campbell & Muntzel (1989).

'Radical death', 'sudden death' and 'bottom-to-top death' constitute only a minority of cases (Palosaari & Campbell 2011; Sasse 1992; Thomason 2008). According to Sasse (1992:22) gradual death is both the prototypical case and that which is of most interest to linguists, given the particular nature of structural change that arises as the language becomes obsolescent. However, even though gradual death is the most widely observed case of language death, its precise dynamics are still unclear and it is possible that there may be a multitude of 'subtypes' of this process. Sasse (1992:22) has suggested that gradual death is characterized by the emergence of a continuum made up of speakers at different stages of language shift, some shifting more rapidly than others. However, it appears that some cases of language death exhibit only rapid shift. For example, Boas (2009) finds no gradual decline in intergenerational transmission in Texas German. Rather, transmission 'virtually stopped between 1920 and 1950' (Boas 2009:3). This means that almost no semi-speakers of the variety have been identified; rather, speakers of Texas German are all rusty speakers.

1.1.3. Linguistic factors in obsolescence

We now turn to the linguistic impact of language endangerment. The structure of this section follows the traditional distinction between internal (§1.1.3.1) and external (§1.1.3.2) change. This should not however be interpreted to mean that the two can always be readily distinguished. The distinction 'may well serve as a useful descriptive tool, but it is not sufficient as a theoretical explanation' (Farrar & Jones 2002:8). What follows is a descriptive overview of some of the linguistic changes attested in obsolescent languages. A given change is, for example, classed as external because it is more clearly attributable to contact than language-internal processes. However, this does not preclude the involvement of other factors. In fact, given that obsolescence is provoked by sociolinguistic factors (§1.1.2), all change in obsolescent languages must be explained with close reference to those extra-linguistic factors.

Before moving on, it is important to emphasize that not all endangered languages undergo extensive structural change in the same ways. Dorian (1978:608) famously described East Sutherland Gaelic as 'dying … with its morphological boots on', referring to the limited impact of obsolescence on that language's morphology. Thomason (2000, 2001:236) reports that Montana Salish shows no evidence of widespread lexical or structural borrowing despite being critically endangered. Similar findings have been reported for Texas Alsatian (Roesch 2012) and Texas German (Boas 2009). It is generally impossible to predict the precise nature of changes which may occur in any language, including endangered languages (Aikhenvald 2012; Chamoreau & Léglise 2012; Campbell & Muntzel 1989; Thomason 2000, 2015). The data that follow are examples of possible changes attested in the literature. Finally, and most importantly, language change in obsolescent languages is not exceptional in any way, as has been claimed for decreolization (§1.2). Linguistic changes in obsolescent languages usually conform qualitatively to those observed in non-obsolescent languages. However, change in obsolescence may be quantitatively different - that is, both the observed rate and amount of change seem significantly higher relative to change in non-obsolescent languages (Aikhenvald 2012:77, Chamoureau & Léglise 2012:6, Dorian 1981:151, Jones 1998b:257). In all: '[i]n language obsolescence it is the *rate*, *amount* and *context* of linguistic change which are noteworthy, rather than the specific nature of the change' (Jones 1998b:252).

1.1.3.1. Internal factors

Obsolescence is first and foremost a process of language contact. However, all languages undergo change that is motivated not by contact but by language-internal processes. This section describes how some processes of internal change may proceed in obsolescent languages, addressing the question of whether obsolescence induces any particular effect on these processes.

Overviews of language change in obsolescence generally identify a number of internal processes. There has been no unified framework within which to discuss these phenomena, however. Campbell & Muntzel (1989) and later Palosaari & Campbell (2011) identify the following: loss of stylistic options ('stylistic shrinkage', cf. §1.1.1.3), overgeneralization of marked features (see §1.1.3.1.1 for discussion of markedness), overgeneralization of unmarked features, development of variability, development of irregularity, morphological reduction, preference for analytic constructions over synthetic ones, syntactic reduction. Sasse (2001) lists ten changes occurring during language obsolescence, several of which bear similarities to those described by Campbell & Muntzel (1989) and Palosaari & Campbell (2011), namely: loss of phonological distinctions, regularization of

morphophonemics, loss of function words, analyticity, loss of morphology, loss of syntactic complexity, agrammatism, phonological and grammatical variability, reduction of vocabulary, increase in polysemy. Aikhenvald (2012:80) also comments that internal change in obsolescent languages is marked by 'simplification and reduction of grammar and lexicon' (Aikhenvald 2012:80).

Sasse (2001) subsumes these phenomena under the broad label of simplification. However, this term should be used with caution: language is a 'not just one system, but a system of systems (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:23) and a change which apparently makes one part of the grammar 'simpler' may well 'complicate' another. Further, the term 'simplification' seems problematic, given that it suggests that there exists some objective criterion for determining complexity in grammars (Sasse 1992:16). Nevertheless, this term has been widely employed in discussion of language change and obsolescence (Aikhenvald 2012; Jones 1998b; Sasse 1992, 2001; Trudgill 1977; see also Blaxter 2017, Blaxter & Trudgill in press) and will be used here with two caveats. First, the terms 'simplicity' and 'complexity' here do not suggest that the grammar of any one language is more 'simple' or 'complex' than any other; these concepts are taken as relative to the rules of the grammar in question. Second, complexification is an equally possible outcome of change. The regularization of a language's grammar is a language-internal process found in all natural languages; however, simplification in obsolescent languages proceeds at a particularly accelerated rate and its effects are wide-reaching (Aikhenvald 2012; Chamoreau & Léglise 2012; Dorian 1981).

The process of reduction has played an important role in the literature on language obsolescence. For Trudgill (1977:34), simplification is the result of a loss in complexity of a language's grammatical system, viz. its regularization, while reduction involves the loss of the system itself. Sasse (1992:15) discusses this in terms of form and substance: simplification is readjustment in substance; reduction is the loss of both form and substance. Sasse (1992:15) suggests that reduction—unlike simplification—is unique to obsolescent languages. However, reduction has also been observed in non-obsolescent languages, and is probably a symptom of intensive contact rather than obsolescence *per se* (Jones 1998b:249). As Sasse (1992:16) himself comments: 'if "essentiality" is the only criterion that distinguishes reduction from simplification, the distinction is largely arbitrary.' Indeed, in practice, in can be difficult to delineate between the two phenomena. Consider one of Trudgill's examples of reduction, the loss of the distinction between the marking nouns for definiteness in the genitive case in Arvanitika (Table 3).

Gloss	Albanian		Arvanitika	
	GENITIVE INDEFINITE	GENITIVE DEFINITE	GENITIVE INDEFINITE	GENITIVE DEFINITE
'mountain'	maleve	malevet	malevet	malevet
'old man'	plecve	plecvet	plejvet	plejvet

Table 3. Reduction of the Arvanitika genitive (*Trudgill 1977:43*)

As this loss of distinctions 'does not represent an increase in regularity, or the loss of a grammatical category,' Trudgill (1977:44) suggests it might be considered an example of reduction. However, Trudgill (1977:44) also notes that this reduction leads to the simplification of Arvanitika's nominal inflectional paradigm. Returning to Thomason & Kaufman's remarks above, this case of reduction could conceivably result in the apparent 'complexification' of Arvanitika if it were eventually, for example, to develop a periphrastic strategy marking definite genitive nouns (cf. Blaxter 2017:17; Trudgill 2011:122-129). As Trudgill (1977:48) makes clear, it is not certain whether simplification and reduction are separate processes in this or other cases.

The discussion above has raised two important points. First, the notions of simplification, reduction and complexification should not be viewed as mutually exclusive; these processes may co-operate to produce a given linguistic outcome. It is suggested that more in-depth research could clarify exactly the usefulness of these concepts as well as provide more insight into how they operate in obsolescent languages. As Sasse (1992, 2001) has pointed out, the kinds of internal changes observed in obsolescent languages (especially those attributed to reduction) bear striking resemblance to those in L1 attrition and imperfect L2 acquisition. As stated above (§1.1.1.3), it is possible that further investigation into the common ground between these two phenomena could pave the way for a more unified theoretical approach to internal change in obsolescent languages. Second, to reiterate, the amount and rate of internal change is the distinguishing feature of language obsolescence, and not the precise changes themselves.

Having briefly discussed the background behind internal changes, we now illustrate these with examples from studies in language obsolescence. This section presents examples of the impact of internal change on the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of obsolescent languages. This structure serves as a framework for illustration, and does not suggest that the mechanisms behind specific changes are confined to just one domain. Rather, the broad processes of simplification, reduction and complexification operate over a variety of linguistic domains to give rise to linguistic change.

Importantly, in obsolescence contexts instances of such change may appear sporadic and unstable (Aikhenvald 2012; Sasse 2002), with the language of semi-speakers and rusty speakers displaying widespread variation both between speakers and within the same speaker (Dorian 1977, 1981). For example, semi-speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic use lenition to signal the vocative case only 25% of the time, compared with 75% for younger fluent speakers and 95% for older fluent speakers (Dorian 1981:135).

1.1.3.1.1. Phonological changes

The phonological system of an obsolescent language may undergo a loss of phonological distinctions overall, especially when those distinctions do not bear a high functional load and when they are not made in the dominant language (Chang 2009:3; Campbell & Muntzel 1989:186; Sasse 2001:1671). Examples of these, taken from Campbell & Muntzel (1989) are shown in Table 4.

Language	**Change**	**Dominant language**
American Finnish	Loss of phonemic vowel length distinction, e.g. /a/ vs. /aː/	English
Pipil		Spanish
	Merger of /t͡s/ and /s/	
Tuxtla Chico Mam	Merger of /q/ and /k/	

Table 4. Loss of phonological distinctions in obsolescence where not present in dominant language, summarized from Campbell & Muntzel (1989: 186)

According to Campbell & Muntzel (1989:187), markedness can be used as one explanatory factor for these changes: they claim that there is an overall tendency towards the elimination of more marked forms, i.e. simplification (see also Thomason & Kaufman 1988:22ff. for the relationship between markedness and simplification).[3] However, there is also a second explanation. The loss of features not present in the dominant language is an example of 'negative borrowing' (Sasse 1992:65) - clearly, negative borrowing can only occur in contact contexts where there is the presence of a dominant language. Thus, Campbell & Muntzel (1989:188) point to multiple causation as an explanation for this phenomenon. Dorian (2006) argues that internal factors have only a limited impact for negative borrowing; rather, her data suggest that sociolinguistic factors including gender-specific speech styles may have more importance for that process.

Some changes also appear to show the retention of marked features. For example, in Pipil, some speakers have overgeneralized the rule which devoices /l/ word-finally and now use it in all environments (Campbell & Muntzel 1989:189). Similarly, in Xinka, consonants are glottalized in

[3] Though part of the fundamental vocabulary of linguistics, the concept of markedness has been used with varied and potentially confounding senses over the years (see Haspelmath 2006). Though analyses in this thesis do not deploy the term markedness, the concept is referenced occasionally where found in the work of other authors.

some morphological environments but some speakers of obsolescent Xinka varieties appear to glottalize consonants in *all* environments. Changes of this type which diverge from the dominant language also have a possible extra-linguistic motivation rather than one based purely on markedness (Chang 2009). Distinctive features of the obsolescent language may be reinforced as part of language maintenance through speakers' desire 'to emphasize their differentness [*sic*] from the dominant group' (Thomason 2001:230). It is therefore possible that certain linguistic features become 'iconized' as indexical features of the group's identity through a process of linguistic differentiation (Irvine and Gal 2000), as in Labov's classic study of Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963). Differentiation can also be used to show solidarity with similar languages, thus inducing convergence. Haynes (2010) terms this 'areal hypercorrection,' reporting a similar phenomenon to that observed in Xinka whereby learners of Numu realize some lexical items with ejective consonants. These have not been part of the language historically but are common in surrounding languages.

As with negative borrowing, changes of linguistic differentiation cannot be said to be wholly the result of internal processes. Rather, it is a combination of internal and external factors which induce these phenomena. Though the discussion below focuses on other kinds of change in other domains, negative borrowing and linguistic differentiation can operate on any linguistic level (see Dorian 2006 for more details on negative borrowing). Negative borrowing has been included in this section as an illustration of how external and internal factors can become intertwined to produce change.

1.1.3.1.2. Morphological changes

As with phonology, the morphological system of an obsolescent language may undergo restructuring and simplification through overgeneralization of rules or loss of distinctions. Thus, Aikhenvald reports that Baré verbs have undergone simplification. Although field recordings from the 1970s indicate that up to five suffixes could be attached to a given verb, the speaker Aikhenvald worked with in the 1990s never used more than one verbal suffix (Aikhenvald 2012:85). In East Sutherland Gaelic, the case system is reduced. Dorian (1981:129) found no usage of the genitive plural and the use of the dative was confined to masculine nouns beginning with a labial or velar stop. Dorian observed some reduction in the grammatical gender of East Sutherland Gaelic nouns in all speakers, with semi-speakers apparently losing the distinction between masculine and feminine (Dorian 1981:124). Similarly, Holloway (1997:128) found that gender and number in Louisiana Spanish

are both assigned inconsistently to nouns and adjectives, for example: *hay tre gato grande* ('There are three big cats' cf. Standard Spanish *hay tres gatos grandes*).

Holloway (1997:138) also reports the 'drastic modification' of morphological strategies for marking tense-aspect-mood/modality on the verb in the Brule Spanish of Louisiana. Indeed, these changes exhibited a great degree of variation between and within speakers (Holloway 1997:124). An example of this is Brule Spanish speakers' tendency to use regularized forms for the irregular preterite of *oír* ('to hear') and *caer* ('to fall'), giving forms such as: *uyí* ('I heard', cf. Standard Spanish *oí*), *uyiste* ('you sg. heard', cf. Standard Spanish *oíste*) and *cayí* ('I fell', cf. Standard Spanish *caí*), *cayiste* ('you sg. fell', cf. Standard Spanish *caíste*) (cf. also Rottet 2001 on French in Louisiana). Boas (2009) discusses the loss of the dative case in Texas German. He states that this development could be triggered by simplification, but also notes that this change may simply represent an ongoing development of the language which may have been accelerated by obsolescence, as the loss of the dative is common to many varieties of German (Boas 2009:209).

1.1.3.1.3. Syntactic changes

Obsolescent languages may undergo an overall reduction in syntactic strategies (Campbell & Muntzel 1998; Palosaari & Campbell 2011; Sasse 2002). Thus, as with morphology and syntax, the domain of syntax can be subject to simplification. Especially, some data suggest that obsolescent languages may exhibit a preference for analytic over synthetic constructions, which Sasse (2001:1672) considers as a form of syntactic simplification. Campbell & Muntzel (1989:192) present the following example from obsolescent Pipil. Future tense suffixes *-s* (sing.) and *-s-ke-t* (pl.) as found in older texts (e.g. *ni-panu-s* 'I will pass'; *ti-panu-ske-t* 'we will pass') are no longer used by speakers of obsolescent Pipil. Periphrastic constructions such as (1.1) following are used instead.

(1.1) ni-yu ni-k-chiwa
I-go I-it-do
'I'm going to do it
Pipil, Campbell & Muntzel (1989:192)

However, it is uncertain whether such a tendency is universal. As Dorian (1977: 143) notes, the movement from synthetic to analytic constructions is only possible in languages with a polymorphemic word structure. According to Sasse (2001: 1672), most studies of obsolescent languages have been conducted in contexts where the dominant language is English, itself an isolating language. It is therefore possible that the observed tendency towards analytic constructions

could be attributed to the effects of contact with English, rather than a language-internal predisposition for analytic constructions over synthetic ones. More research should be conducted into obsolescent languages in contact with highly agglutinative languages to determine whether they still exhibit a preference towards analyticity. One well known case—where such research has been done—is that of Asia Minor Greek, which has become more agglutinative as a result of contact with Turkish and which does not display a tendency towards analyticity even in the final stages of its obsolescence (Sasse 2001:1672).

1.1.3.1.4. Lexical changes

Overall, obsolescent languages exhibit widespread loss of lexical items (Sasse 2002; Campbell & Muntzel 1998). In particular, Thomason (2015:58) notes that the loss is acute in the case of vocabulary which is no longer relevant in the dominant culture. Therefore, knowledge of lexical items pertaining to traditional cultural practices is most likely to fade. To illustrate this, Thomason (2015:59) gives the example of the Salish-Pend d'Oreille word *kʷ'ɬxʷét'cn* ('her hair is cut short'). Traditionally, the only appropriate context for cutting hair short was to signify mourning in widows and widowers. Some speakers Thomason worked with recognized the word, but all thought it old-fashioned and did not use it themselves. Of course, the lexicon of any language will change over time and certain words will fall out of use as they become culturally irrelevant. The rate of this loss is accelerated in obsolescence, especially when it comes to the loss of function words such as discourse particles, conjunctions and prepositions (Sasse 1992). Holloway (1997:132ff.) reports that speakers of Brule Spanish frequently do not use prepositions *de* ('of, from') and *a* ('to, at') and produce forms such as: *el pelo* [*de*] *la mujé* ('the woman's hair'), *no fuimo* [*a*] *ningún lao* ('we didn't go anywhere') and *comí calne* [*de*] *cochino* ('I ate pig meat'). As a result of lexical loss, those lexemes which remain become polysemous as speakers attempt to 'fill in the gaps' left by lexical reduction (Sasse 2001:1672).

1.1.3.2. External factors

We now turn to examine contact-induced changes in language obsolescence. Chamoreau & Léglise (2012:4) note that linguists only very rarely draw a formal distinction between the general contact-induced change and examples of that process from obsolescent languages. Much as in internal change (§1.1.3.1), it is the amount and rate of change that is so typical of obsolescent languages (Aikhenvald 2012, Chamoureau & Léglise 2012, Campbell & Muntzel 1989, Dorian 1981). Obsolescent languages are subject to an 'influx of non-native forms' according to Aikhenvald (2012:77). Contact-induced change has been approached from a variety of perspectives, including

grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva 2005), bilingualism and code-switching (Myers-Scotton 2002), as well as the two approaches to be analysed here: Thomason & Kaufman's sociolinguistic model and a psycholinguistic model formulated by van Coetsem (1988, 2000).

As seen in §1.1.2.1, for Thomason & Kaufman (1988) the linguistic processes of borrowing and transfer are rooted in the sociolinguistic phenomena of language maintenance and shift. However, as Winford (2005: 374) points out, the apparently neat distinction between these sociolinguistic processes and their linguistic outcomes is not borne out in Thomason & Kaufman's discussion. Rather, terms referring to sociolinguistic mechanisms of change and their resulting linguistic processes are used interchangeably or in ways that suggest their equivalence. Consider:

> 'In cases with an asymmetrical dominance relation, of course, shift and borrowing are also likely to be occurring simultaneously-but shift only to the dominant language, and borrowing mainly from the dominant language.' (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 72)

In the above quote, it is not clear whether 'shift' is being employed solely in its sociolinguistic sense (the speech community shifting to the dominant language) or in a wider sense which includes the linguistic consequences of this (i.e. interference through shift) (see Winford 2005:374 for more discussion). A failure to address these issues has created obstacles for work on language contact according to Winford (2005) as well as limiting the flexibility of Thomason & Kaufman's model. Turning again to the above quotation —this time to focus on its content—we see another an example of this inflexibility. If borrowing can only be the result of maintenance, what happens in the context of language obsolescence? In obsolescence, the primary sociolinguistic force is shift rather than maintenance (§1.1.2.1). However, the major linguistic effect is generally not on the target language but on the abandoned language. Though Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 72) state that borrowing can occur during shift, it is unclear how exactly we should conceive of this process within their framework. For example, if borrowing occurs during shift, this implies that the community is simultaneously *shifting* and *maintaining*, giving rise to borrowing and transfer. Extra-linguistic factors surely influence linguistic processes, but theorizing direct causation between sociolinguistic and linguistic processes overcomplicates the model, especially considering that the relationship between specific sociolinguistic contexts and structural changes is not always clear. As Chamoreau & Léglise (2012:1) stress, contact-induced change 'should not be analyzed through a single lens.'

Some examples of contact-induced change in language obsolescence are presented below. Once again, it is necessary to emphasize that these changes share much in common with those in non-obsolescent languages: it is the rate and amount of these changes occurring in obsolescent

languages which is remarkable. Additionally, as mentioned in §1.1.1.3, obsolescent languages exhibit widespread variation and any change is often unstable. Finally, to reiterate: there is no clear line to be drawn between internal and external factors.

1.1.3.2.1. Phonological changes

As has been discussed in §1.1.3.1.1, phonological change in obsolescent varieties often involves negative borrowing, whereby phonological contrasts that are not present in the dominant language are eliminated. This phenomenon can be seen as a combination of internal and external factors. In a change similar to negative borrowing, it has also been reported that obsolescent languages may borrow phonemes from the dominant language because they are iconized representations of prestige. Palosaari & Campbell (2011:114) include two examples from Pipil. In Teotepeque Pipil, /ʂ̺/ (retroflex laminal fricative) has changed to /r/. This is motivated by speakers' knowledge of the dominant local variety of Spanish, where [ʂ̺] is a stigmatized allophone of /r/. Speaker attitudes towards the Spanish [ʂ̺] carry over into Pipil, where they have avoided using this phoneme due to the stigmatization it has accrued in Spanish. Similarly, Pipil /j/ is sometimes realized as [ʒ] due to that sound's prestigious status as an allophone of /j/ in the local variety of Spanish. Such changes are a reminder of the power of extra-linguistic factors to impact linguistic change.

1.1.3.2.2. Morphological changes

Lexical borrowings can be reanalyzed and incorporated into the morphosyntax of the recipient language. In Ardeşen Laz, Turkish *yer* ('place') has been borrowed and subsequently grammaticalized as a locative adposition (Kutscher 2008:95) (1.2).

(1.2) didi livadi =*yeri* beraberi mtxorumt
big garden place together dig.1PL.PRS
'We both dig in the big garden'
(Kutscher 2008:95)

Morphological structures can also be borrowed from the dominant language without lexical content, through calquing. Grenoble (2000) reports morphological calquing in Evenki, where case assignment follows the pattern of Russian. In passive constructions, Evenki had traditionally marked the agent with the dative case. However, intensive contact has resulted in their marking with the instrumental case, as in Russian.

1.1.3.2.3. Syntactic changes

At the same time, Evenki word order is also changing under influence from Russian. Evenki mostly exhibits Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) word order, which Grenoble (2000:107) finds is shifting to SVO in some cases (1.3).

(1.3) Amin-mi ičə-rə-n udʒa-l-ba:-n
father-POSS.1SG see-AOR-3SG track-PL-ACC-POSS.3SG
'My father saw its [the bear's] tracks.'
Evenki, Grenoble (2000:108).

Syntactic calquing can also occur in the syntax of an obsolescent language. Campbell & Muntzel (1989:190) describe how the influence of English on American Finnish has led to that variety changing its passivization strategy. The passive voice in Finnish employs an impersonal verb (i.e. one that does not subcategorize for an overt agent). However, under the influence of English, American Finnish verbs marked for the passive can now take an agent, which is marked by the ablative or ellative case or the postposition *kautta* ('through'). Campbell & Muntzel attribute this change to syntactic calquing of English passive constructions which mark the agent with 'by …' (4)-(6).

(1.4) häne-t hauda-ttiin **kirko-sta**
he-ACC bury-PAST.PASS **church-ELATIVE**
"He was buried **by the church**."

(1.5) hautajaiset pide-ttiin 30 päivä heinäkuu-ta **kirko-lta**
funeral hold-PAST.PASS 30 day July-PRT **church-ABLATIVE**
"The funeral was held on the 30th day of July **by the church**"

(1.6) polttohautaus Lake Side **kappeli-n** **kautta** toimite-ttiin
cremation Lake Side **chapel-GEN** **through** perform-PAST.PASS
"The cremation was performed **by Lake Side Chapel**."
American Finnish (Campbell & Muntzel 1989: 191)

1.1.3.2.4. Lexical changes

Aikhenvald (2012) gives examples of both 'usual' and 'unusual' patterns in lexical borrowing in obsolescent languages. Baré borrows the complementizer *ke* from Spanish (*que*), as well as forms such as *mientre ke* (< Spanish *mientras que*) for 'while, whereas' and *pur ke* (< Spanish *porque*). Aikhenvald (2012:88) says that changes in Baré 'follow a beaten path, albeit at an increased rate' (Aikhenvald 2012:89). Lexical borrowing in Baré appears qualitatively similar to the same process in non-obsolescent languages; the difference is, again, the 'quantity and the speech of change' (Aikhenvald 2012:89). Changes in Mawayana and Resígaro exhibit more extensive changes, which

demonstrate the wide-reaching effects of obsolescence. Both of these languages exhibit extensive lexical borrowing which extends even to pronouns, a 'not unheard of but unusual' phenomenon according to Aikhenvald (2012:91-94); cf. Matras (2009) for examples of pronoun borrowing in non-obsolescent languages.

1.1.4. Summary

The theme running through this discussion is that a full explanation of language change can only be reached through careful consideration of external, internal and extra-linguistic factors. Language obsolescence is a case in point. The distinctive characteristic of obsolescence—the unusually high rate and large amount of change—is observed both in external change as well as internal change. Thus, even internal changes in language obsolescence are to some extent shaped by extra-linguistic factors. As the example of negative borrowing has shown, changes are often difficult to class as definitively internal or external. Rather, it seems that some change in obsolescence can only be explained through multiple causation, the interaction between extralinguistic, external and internal factors. This thesis examines whether this framework can be applied to decreolization.

1.2. Decreolization

Endangered creole varieties have been overlooked by linguists working on language endangerment and revitalization (although see Bartens 2001; Garrett 2006; O'Shannessy 2011). This has also meant that creoles have been left out of discussion of structural change in language obsolescence. Rather, accounts of language contact and change in creole languages tend to hinge on the notion of 'decreolization', by which the creole is said to gradually come to resemble its lexifier. Decreolization is a creole-specific notion which has been rarely defined in relation to the wider considerations of language contact and change outlined in the preceding discussion (§1.1). This section introduces the concept of decreolization and attempts to relate it to phenomena of language contact and change as described in non-creole languages and discussed in §1.1. This review sets the groundwork for the remainder of this thesis, which questions whether there is any empirical basis for attributing to creoles a specific process of language change. Indeed, discussion in this section will demonstrate the following three shortcomings of decreolization:

(i) Decreolization is not sufficiently defined and cannot represent a coherent model of language contact and change in creoles (cf. Patrick 1999, Siegel 2010).

(ii) In its sociolinguistic dimensions, decreolization resembles an over-simplified version of language shift with less descriptive power than that model.

(iii) In its linguistic dimensions, which constitute the main object of study for this thesis, decreolization cannot be reasonably characterized as a 'special case' of contact-induced change as has been claimed by Bickerton (1981). This is because:
   a. Decreolization is supposed by Bickerton (2016 [1981]) to adhere to a 'new forms first, new functions later' principle. In practice, contact between a creole and its lexifier does not necessarily adhere to this principle. Moreover, changes of this type are observed in contact-induced change in non-creole languages.
   b. Decreolization apparently presupposes a unidirectional process of advergence to the lexifier, whereas in practice not all linguistic changes result in the creole coming to resemble the lexifier.
   c. Decreolization does features no role for language-internal factors.

This being the case, language change in creoles is better described by frameworks widely used in the study of language contact and change and which are crosslinguistically applicable.

§1.2.1 provides a general introduction to decreolization and attempts to provide a workin definition of that process. The sociolinguistic (§1.2.2) and linguistic (§1.2.3) aspects of decreolization are laid out in a way that parallels the structure of the discussion of language obsolescence above (§1.1), in order to facilitate the reader's easy comparison of these processes. Points of similarity and contrast are noted throughout this discussion. §1.2.4 sums up the section, recapitulating points of comparison, laying out the relationship between decreolization and language change in general and establishing the stance taken in this thesis towards these phenomena.

1.2.1. Defining decreolization

Before proceding, I first attempt to define decreolization. This is a difficult task since, though it is invoked in a wide range of studies, no generally agreed-upon definition of decreolization exists in the literature. As first outlined by Whinnom (1971) and DeCamp (1971), decreolization is the phenomenon whereby a creole undergoes linguistic change in the direction of its lexifier. Bickerton (1980:109) provides a definition of decreolization which is often cited and will be used here as a working definition: 'In decreolization, speakers progressively change the basilectal grammar so that its output gradually comes to resemble the output of an acrolectal grammar.' Rickford (1986:1) further distinguishes between two types of decreolization, namely 'qualitative decreolization' and 'quantitative decreolization'. In quantitative decreolization, successive generations of creole speakers shift to varieties of increasing resemblance to the lexifier. In qualitative decreolization, the

creole undergoes structural change: the borrowing of acrolectal features and the attrition of basilectal features (Winford 1997:248).

Decreolization in some form has been invoked to account for grammatical change in studies of e.g. Hawai'i Creole (Bickerton 2016[1981]:118), Gullah (Jones-Jackson 1984), Tok Pisin (Romaine 1992), as well as LC (Neumann 1985a; Rottet 1992; Speedy 1994, 1995; Klingler 2003a; but cf. Henri & Klingler 2014; Henri 2016; Klingler 2018) and a multitude of other creoles. However, some creolists have expressed explicit skepticism about the robustness of decreolization as a theoretical construct e.g. Aceto (1999), Patrick (1999), DeGraff (2005), Russell (2015) and Siegel (2010). As Patrick (1999:19) puts it: 'decreolization remains an insecure notion: insufficiently distinguished from ordinary change processes, possibly conceptually incoherent, and certainly not adequately supported by diachronic investigations to date.' Siegel (2010) provides an important critical literature survey in which he argues that decreolization cannot be adequately distinguished from other phenomena in language contact. DeGraff (2005, 2003) has made similar comments within his wide-reaching and controversial critique of 'a set of beliefs, widespread among both linguists and nonlinguists, that Creole languages form an exceptional class on phylogenetic and/or typological grounds' (DeGraff 2005:533). DeGraff holds that it is this tacit ideology of 'Creole Exceptionalism' which has led to creolists treating creoles as inherently different from other languages. He takes decreolization as an example:

> '[I]t has not been rigorously defined what structural process is inverted or what structural properties are removed by this decreolization process. … What historical linguists outside of creolistics study is language change, be it contact-induced or not, and language change is a process that is presumably based on universal psycholinguistic mechanisms that do not leave room for a *sui generis* process of (de)creolization' (DeGraff 2005: 553)

In his rebuttal to DeGraff (2003), Bickerton (2004) attacks the former's 'hectoring and polemical rhetoric' and rejects any hint of Creole Exceptionalism in his, or others', work. This is but one example of how the field of creolistics is split into two, seemingly irreconcilable camps. McWhorter's recent book, *The Creole Debate* (2018), dubs these camps the Creole Exceptionalists and the Uniformitarians. McWhorter identifies himself as a Creole Exceptionalist (a term he re-claims from DeGraff, above), outlining his belief that creoles are formed in a unique way (i.e. pidginization-to-creolization), have a set of prototypical features and therefore constitute a unique linguistic class. Amongst the Uniformitarians he identifies in particular Michel DeGraff, Salikoko Mufwene and Enoch Aboh, whose work seeks to identify creoles as a class of languages in name only, i.e. not

linguistically exceptional in their formation or configuration (e.g. Aboh 2015, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c; Aboh & DeGraff 2016; DeGraff 2008, 2009; Mufwene 2001, 2004, 2005, 2008). Each camp claims that the other fundamentally misunderstands their camp's work (and, indeed, the field of linguistics in general) and is politically rather than empirically motivated. The relationship of this study to this Creole Debate will be tackled only in the concluding chapter (Chapter 8), that is, only once the data themselves have been examined.

This data-driven approach is sorely needed (cf. Patrick 1999:19). Little research has empirically addressed the linguistic nature of decreolization or its relationship to other contact phenomena (Siegel 2010). Some authors, such as Russell (2015) and Thomason & Kaufman (1988), have likened decreolization to a combination of language shift (in the case of quantitative decreolization) and borrowing (in the case of qualitative decreolization). The following discussion attempts to clarify this situation by addressing both quantitative (§1.2.2) and qualitative (§1.2.3) decreolization in relation to sociolinguistic (§1.1.2) and linguistic (§1.1.3) aspects of language contact discussed above.

1.2.2. Sociolinguistic factors: Quantitative decreolization

This section addresses the sociolinguistic factors at work in decreolization that induce the structural changes described in §1.2.3. First, decreolization is considered from the perspective of Thomason & Kaufman's model of language shift and maintenance (§1.1.2.1). This discussion leads us to examine the nature of contact between a creole and its lexifier and how this relates to contact between other linguistic systems, including the largely overlooked phenomenon of contact between a creole and a language which is not its lexifier (§1.2.2.2).

1.2.2.1. Decreolization as language shift

Quantitative decreolization is defined by Rickford (1987) as the process by which successive generations of creole speakers approximate their language to the acrolect. Winford (1997: 248), like others, comments that 'it might be better if we referred to "quantitative decreolization" as language shift' - this claim is examined below.

It is necessary to describe the mechanisms by which quantitative decreolization is said to occur. Decreolization is most often conceptualized with reference to the (post-)creole continuum. This continuum is situated between two poles, namely the basilect and the acrolect. The basilectal variety — which has the 'most creole' features — is situated at an opposite 'pole' from the acrolect,

which represents the lexifier or its closest approximation. The varieties in between, which are sometimes referred to as mesolects, represent the intermediate stages on this continuum (Figure 1).

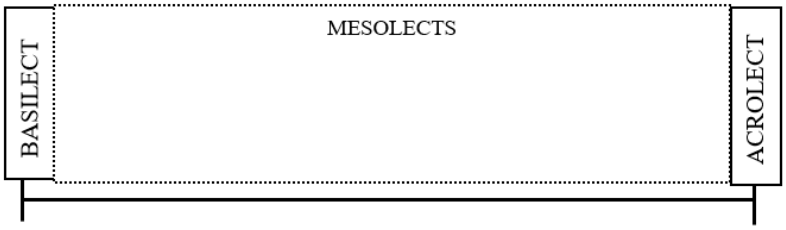

Figure 1. The (post-)creole continuum

Quantitative decreolization is most often viewed as a diachronic process whereby the language of successive generations of speakers becomes more acrolectal in nature (Aceto 1999; Siegel 2010).[4] As has been noted by several linguists, this phenomenon appears to be adequately described as a case of language shift (DeBose 2005; Russell 2015; Siegel 2010; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Winford 1997). Indeed, it appears that the same sociolinguistic forces are at work in quantitative decreolization as in language shift, namely Thomason & Kaufman's notion of sociopolitical dominance (see §1.1.1.4). Siegel (2008:235) considers the following factors to be important in bringing about quantitative decreolization: the dominance of the lexifier language, the breakdown of social stratification to allow for social mobility and education in the dominant lexifier language. The breakdown of social stratification, which typifies the colonial contexts in which many creoles have emerged results in creole speakers coming into increased contact with the lexifier. An education in the lexifier language—a possible result of the breakdown of social stratification—will further increase the intensity of the contact, perhaps even to the point of tip as discussed in §1.1.2.3.

It is often the case that the lexifier language is—at least early on in the breakdown of social stratification—the language of education, government and upward social mobility and is therefore perceived as the prestige variety (DeBose 2005; Holm 1988a, 1988b, 2000). However, some scholars (e.g. DeGraff 2005; Mufwene 1994) have argued that work on decreolization has oversimplified creole speakers' language attitudes. Rather than being a simple issue of the lexifier always being overwhelmingly dominant, creoles can have an important indexical function as a sign of social solidarity (DeGraff 2005) which may lead to maintenance of the creole. Similarly, Papua New Guinea and Haiti present well-known examples of contexts where a local creole has achieved national

[4] As Aceto (1999) and Siegel (2010) both observe, accounts which view decreolization as a diachronic process only rarely employ diachronic evidence to support this perspective. Mufwene (1994:72) has argued that diachronic changes observed in Jamaican Creole and Guyanese Creole cannot be distinguished from those in non-creole languages, concluding on that basis that 'there should be no such thing as becoming less creole.'

language status and the overall population shows no sign of overwhelming shift towards the lexifier, despite the lexifier's usage in the education system (Romaine 1992). This exposes one key weakness of decreolization, namely that it only describes a process of lexifier-targeted language shift but has no room for instances where the creole is instead maintained by the population in situations of stable bilingualism observed in e.g. Haiti or Papua New Guinea. Given that the extralinguistic factors of maintenance and shift may result in different linguistic changes (see §1.1.2.1; §1.1.2.2), this appears to be a major shortcoming in our understanding of language change in creole varieties.

Similarly, unlike the somewhat nebulous notion of decreolization, Thomason & Kaufman's more concrete model allows for simultaneous language maintenance and shift, as may occur in contexts of obsolescence (§1.1) - clearly a key issue for the present study. Bartens (2001), Garrett (2006) and O'Shannessy (2011) constitute some of the few attempts to discuss creole data within the language endangerment paradigm; all three authors note that creole languages have been neglected in this regard. It is therefore not known how creole grammars change in obsolescence, and only a handful of studies have referred to the possibility of obsolescence-induced change in creoles (e.g. Jones-Jackson 1984; van Sluijs 2014).

Furthermore, if taken as the sole model of language contact in creolophone contexts, decreolization is problematic in it excludes the possibility of substrate interference from the creole on the lexifier (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 110ff.), as has been alluded to elsewhere (see e.g. Mufwene 2005:80 on *français créolisé*).

In sum, considering quantitative decreolization as an instance of language shift (as in e.g. DeBose 2005; Russell 2015; Siegel 2010; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Winford 1997) appears justified given that both processes seem identical. Of course, creole languages arise and may exist in specific sociolinguistic contexts. However, non-creole-specific models of contact do not exclude consideration of these factors (see also Russell 2015:136): as has been discussed above, studies in obsolescence (after Dorian 1981) and contact (after Thomason & Kaufman 1988) emphasize the careful consideration of the specific sociolinguistic contexts which give rise to language shift. On the other hand, there is much to gain by adopting the more mainstream model of shift and maintenance as it can account for a wider range of contact phenomena than decreolization and can allow for insights to be taken from and contributed to mainstream studies of language contact.

1.2.2.2. Creole-lexifier contact, dialect contact and language contact

If we consider quantitative decreolization an example of language shift, it is necessary to develop this approach further by addressing the relationship of contact between a creole and its lexifier, on the one hand, to other forms of contact, on the other. The discussion below attempts to situate contact in decreolization in relation to contact between two languages or dialects.

Contact between a creole and its lexifier (here 'creole-lexifier contact') has occasionally been compared to contact between two dialects. For example, in his analysis of Afro-Bolivian Spanish, Lipski (2011) justifies the invocation of decreolization by quoting the following passage from Labov:

> 'Whenever a subordinate dialect is in contact with a superordinate one, linguistic forms produced by a speaker of the subordinate dialect in a formal context will shift in an unsystematic manner towards the superordinate' (Labov 1971:450 in Lipski 2011:277)

This reference serves only to raise the question of what exactly distinguishes contact between two dialects from contact between a creole and its lexifier. In fact, Sankoff (1980:155) cites the very same passage from Labov (1971) to illustrate her own skepticism of a distinction between these two types of contact and to support her stance that existing theories and techniques in linguistics can be deployed in the analysis of creole data.

Dialect contact is defined by Trudgill (1994) as contact between two mutually intelligible varieties, where mutual intelligibility implies a degree of shared lexicon, phonology and morphosyntax. By definition, creoles exhibit a high degree of lexical similarity to their lexifiers. Holm (1988a:59), however, argues that that creole-lexifier contact cannot be equated to dialect contact due to the higher structural divergence between creoles and their lexifiers than between two dialects: '[u]nlike the contact between two dialects that are in essence two variants of the same linguistic system, the contact between a creole and its lexical source language represents the collision of two very different linguistic systems' (Holm 1988a:59).

Siegel (2010:91) has argued that the structural distance between a creole and its lexifier could be mitigated by the creole continuum. As mesolectal varieties at the higher end of the continuum bear increasing morphosyntactic resemblance to the lexifier, Siegel (2010) argues that a 'trickle-down' effect ensues where the lexifier is only in contact with the most acrolectal mesolect, which is in turn in contact with the next-most acrolectal, etc. From this perspective, acrolectal features arise in mesolectal varieties, which bear increasing morphosyntactic resemblance to the lexifier, rather than in basilectal varieties as direct borrowings. To illustrate the similarity between this scenario and dialect contact, Siegel uses the example of contact between Picard and French. Both of these

langues d'oïl exist in a similarly intensive contact relationship to that found between a creole and its lexifier. French has a high degree of lexical similarity to Picard and is also the prestige language in relation to that variety (Carton 1981 in Siegel 2010; see also Pooley 2002). As Carton (1981) even arranges Picard and French on a continuum populated with intermediate varieties of regional French, 'it is hard to see what the difference between "depicardization" and decreolization is supposed to be' according to Siegel (2010:94). Pooley (2002) has also discussed depicardization, finding that contact with standard and vernacular French has introduced levelling in that variety through a combination of internal, external and extralinguistic factors. In particular, convergence between French and Picard has more radically affected the lexicon and morphology of that variety than syntax (Pooley 2002:50). The relatively similar syntax of French and Picard contrasts with differences on morphological, lexical and phonological levels. In turn, phonological change has been driven largely by the salience and loss of these lexical features (Pooley 2002:55).

However, the 'trickle-down effect' that Siegel postulates for creole-lexifier contact has not yet been investigated in depth. The possible significance of typological differences in creole-lexifier contact therefore merits further research, and will be addressed in this thesis. Despite this structural divergence, it is clear that the very high lexical similarity between a creole and its lexifier means that they do not exactly fit the definition of language contact, since the large amount of shared vocabulary means that they are not two completely mutually unintelligible varieties (Trudgill 1994). Creole-lexifier contact therefore presents a third possibility in addition to language contact and dialect contact. In creole-lexifier contact, both varieties in contact bear a high degree of lexical similarity but diverge in terms of linguistic structure. When two dialects are in contact, they share more lexical and structural features and are therefore mutually intelligible; when two languages are in contact, they share only limited lexical and structural features and are therefore mutually unintelligible (see Table 5).[5] Critically, in this view, contact between a creole and its lexifier is not an exceptional, creole-specific process. Instead, it can be related to instances of contact between any two given varieties (dialects, languages, even idiolects) along clines of lexical and typological similarity (cf. Aboh 2015). This line of inquiry will be revisited in Chapter 8 in light of the analyses in this thesis.

[5] This generalization has two caveats. First, lexical and structural (dis)similarity and mutual intelligibility are quantifiable only to a certain extent and can be approached from a range of methodological perspectives (see e.g. Hammarström 2008, McMahon & McMahon 2005). Second, the amount of lexical and structural similarity and subsequent mutual intelligibility varies considerably between contexts. See Chapter 8 for full discussion.

	Lexical correspondence	Typological correspondence
Dialect contact	More	More
Language contact	Less	Less
Creole-lexifier contact	More	Less

Table 5. Dialect, language and creole-lexifier contact

Beyond these three possibilities (language contact, dialect contact, creole-lexifier contact), there is a fourth: namely, contact between a creole and a language other than its lexifier (here 'creole-nonlexifier contact'). Despite contact contexts such as these being relatively widespread, according to Snow (2000a) they have been the subject of little to no research (cf. Bartens 2002). As is the case with internal change in creoles (§1.2.3.1), this lack of attention is probably a result of researchers' focus on decreolization. Aceto (1999) was amongst the first to remark upon the challenge that creole-nonlexifier contact presents to work on language changes on creoles, dominated as it is by references to decreolization. Namely, the literature on decreolization fails to explain creole-nonlexifier contact since dis suggests that creoles *must* be in close contact with their lexifiers in order to undergo externally motivated change (Aceto 1999:341). Mühlhäusler (1997) claims that decreolization is a different process from those operative in creole-nonlexifier contact but does not present any evidence to support this assertion. Given that 13 Caribbean creoles are in contact with languages other than their lexifier (Snow 2000a:339), there is ample opportunity to conduct a parallel comparison between creole-nonlexifier and creole-lexifier contact. However, according to Siegel (2010:90), no such study has been undertaken (though Garret 2000 and Snow 2000b do mention some details of creole-nonlexifier contact).

A comparison of creole-nonlexifier contact and creole-lexifier contact could shed further light on the exact relationship between decreolization and language (and dialect) contact. Unlike creole-lexifier contact and dialect contact, creole-nonlexifier contact involves two linguistic systems which are lexically and structurally distinct. As this is also the case in language contact, creole-nonlexifier contact can tentatively be subsumed under the label of language contact. A context in which a creole is in contact both with its lexifier and with a nonlexifier language therefore offers a good opportunity to examine the respective effects of creole-lexifier contact and language contact – this comparison is at the heart of this thesis.

1.2.3. Linguistic factors: Qualitative decreolization

Discussion now turns to qualitative decreolization, namely the kinds of linguistic change which arise as a result of shift from a creole to its lexifier described in §1.2.2. Examples of change are described here so that they might be compared to those occurring in obsolescence and contact more generally (§1.1.3). The objective of this discussion is to discern whether decreolization can be distinguished from language change in non-creole languages on the sole basis of its linguistic consequences.

According to Siegel (2010), there is little to no research which explicitly addresses this fundamental issue. An important exception in this regard is the work of Derek Bickerton (2016 [1981], 1980, 1975), which is likely the only systematic attempt to outline the relationship between decreolization and language change in non-creole languages. The discussion here therefore draws heavily on Bickerton's work, taking it as a point of departure. What follows will focus particularly on Bickerton's key claim that decreolization is a 'special case' of contact-induced language change because it involves the borrowing of 'new forms first and new functions later' (Bickerton 2016 [1981]:170). This claim is addressed fully in §1.2.3.2. To allow comparison with contact-induced change in general (§1.1.3), discussion is accompanied by illustrative data from case studies of decreolization and its effect on the morphosyntax, phonology and lexicon of a creole.

Before comparing decreolization and contact-induced change, it is necessary to address the issue of internal change in creole languages. The role of internal factors in language change in creoles has been largely overlooked due to a focus on external factors (i.e. on decreolization). An attempt to address this is made below.

1.2.3.1. Internal change

Decreolization in its mainstream interpretation is not an internal process (Russell 2015). Within the decreolization paradigm, the linguistic changes that result from creole-lexifer contact are seen as motivated by extralinguistic and external factors by their very nature. However, within the pluralist approach to language change advocated by e.g. Farrar & Jones (2002), Chamoreau & Léglise (2012) and Karatsareas (2016) (see §1.1.1.2), both internal and external factors play an important and interconnected role. Just as in the case of language obsolescence, the fact that decreolization is the product of language contact does not preclude the involvement of internal change. An overwhelming emphasis on decreolization, however, has meant that internal change in

creoles has been largely overlooked (Aceto 1999: 93; McWhorter 2005:161). Internal change, though not usually considered part of decreolization proper, will therefore be examined briefly here.

There is no reason to suppose that creoles do not undergo the same processes of internal change observed in non-creoles (Bickerton 1980, McWhorter 2005). Indeed, 'to propose such an exemption would clearly … exclude creoles from the definition of natural languages' (Bickerton 1980:122). Furthermore, as DeGraff (2005:553) emphasizes, such a claim would be highly problematic in that it would mean that speakers of creole languages are somehow exempt (physiologically, psychologically or otherwise) from the supposed universal, psycholinguistic basis of language change.

The inability to account for internal change in creole languages represents a major shortcoming of work in the decreolization paradigm. Studies of creole languages consider internal factors as secondary if at all, instead concentrating on the effect of the lexifier on the creole (Aceto 1999). This far removes decreolization as a theory from mainstream understandings of language change which assign equal weight to internal, external and extralinguistic factors (e.g. Chamoreau & Léglise 2012; Farrar & Jones 2002).

1.2.3.1.1. *Morphosyntactic change*

Aceto (1999) describes synchronic variation in Bastimentos Creole, an English-lexifier creole spoken by a small, relatively isolated community on the island of Bastimentos, Panama. He reports innovative preverbal past and future tense markers which he argues are the result of reanalysis of existing grammatical structure (Aceto 1999:105ff.). The new forms in Bastimentos Creole appear to arise as a result of reanalysis. The innovative form *woz* is in competition with *di*(*d*) as the preverbal past tense marker (1.7). Aceto (1999:106) claims that this form arose as the result of reanalysis of existing structures such as (1.8). The existing construction *woz de* + Verb (1.8b) for the past progressive is reanalyzed as the existing progressive marker *de* + a past marker *woz*, which is extended into other past tense constructions (1.7b).

(1.7a) Im **di** sii ši
3S.M ***di*(*d*)** see 3S.F
'He saw her/he had seen her.'

(1.7b) Im **woz** sii ši
3S.M ***woz*** see 3S.F
'He saw her/he had seen her.'

(1.8a) Im de fait wid ši
3S.M PROG fight with 3S.F
'He is fighting with her.'

(1.8b) Im woz de fait wid ši
3S.M PST.PROG fight with 3S.F
'He was fighting with her.'

English is the lexifier of Bastimentos Creole and the emergence of *woz* as a past tense marker suggests the influence of that language. However, this feature cannot plausibly be said to emerge through external change through contact with English: Bastimentos Creole is only in contact with Spanish (Aceto 1999:113). Thus, Aceto's data speak to two key limitations of decreolization. First, decreolization cannot account for situations in which a creole is not in contact with its lexifier (see §1.2.2.2). Second, 'it is possible that this "over-reliance" on decreolization may be obscuring opportunities to study other types of change which are different from decreolization, either internally motivated or even other overlooked externally motivated explanations' (Aceto 1999:99).

1.2.3.1.2. *Phonological change*

Romaine (1992) reports ongoing phonological change in the speech of young urban speakers of Tok Pisin. This change is the result of internal factors, not decreolization or contact, and represents 'the most striking phonological change' in the language according to Siegel (2008: 241). For example, the preposition *bilong* is reduced to *blo* through phonological reduction (Romaine 1992:173). Changes of this kind are summarized in Table 6.

Full form	Reduced form	Gloss
bilong	*blo*	preposition
wanpela	*pla, nla*	demonstrative
dispela	*disla, disa, disia*	
yutupela	*yutra, yuta*	'you two'
mitupela	*mitla*	'we two'
givim	*gim*	'give'

Table 6. Phonological reduction in Tok Pisin (Romaine 1992)

This process results in the complexification of Tok Pisin morphology. The reduction of *yutupela* and *mitupela* to *yutra*/*yuta* and *mitla* obscures the morphological transparency of these forms which are a combination of the singular pronouns *mi* (first person) and *yu* (second person), *tu* 'two' and the

productive suffix *-pela* which here marks the plural pronoun plural. Similarly, the reduction of the transitivizing suffix *-im* in the verb 'give' increases the irregularity of the Tok Pisin verbal paradigm.

Romaine (1992:175) also comments that the rapid speech style which has resulted in changes of this sort may be a strategy for expressing solidarity. It is therefore possible that this particular instance of phonological change—or at least its proliferation—is motivated not only by language-internal factors, but from extralinguistic ones as well.

1.2.3.1.3. *Lexical change*

Internally-motivated lexical change in creoles is only rarely discussed in the literature. Siegel (2008) and Smith (2002) report the development of new idioms and metaphorical expressions in Tok Pisin which are the result of internal lexical expansion and not borrowing from English (Table 7).

Idiom	Literal meaning	Translation
kisim win	'get wind'	'have a rest'
karim kaikai	'give food'	'get the desired result'
kapsaitim wara	'pour water'	'urinate'
putim skin	'put one's skin'	'try to make an impression'
sem pipia	'ashamed rubbish'	'very ashamed'
sutim tok	'shoot talk'	'blame'

Table 7. Innovative idioms in Tok Pisin (*Siegel 2008:240*)

Crowley (1990:363) reports similar internally-motivated lexical expansion in the development of Bislama idioms. Lexical changes of this kind are expected in any language (see §1.1.3.1.4), but when they appear in studies of creole languages they do so only peripherally. It seems that this—as in the other cases of internal change—is the result of an overwhelming focus on external (i.e. decreolization) factors.

1.2.3.2. External change

We now turn to examine the specifics of qualitative decreolization, and its relationship to contact-induced change. As has been mentioned above, Bickerton (1980) may constitute the only detailed attempt to address whether change induced through creole-lexifier contact differs from contact-induced change in general.

The theoretical argumentation in Bickerton (1980) is centered around the assertion that decreolization is a 'special case' of external (his 'non-spontaneous') change that is distinct from internal ('spontaneous') change. Seeking to find contrasts between this 'special case' of external change and internal change only begs the question of what makes decreolization a 'special case' of

external change in the first place. It is not surprising that some contrast might be found between internal change and decreolization, given that such contrast can sometimes be found between internal change and external change proper (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:100; see §1.1.3).[6]

Further to this, recall that Bickerton believes that creoles will undergo the same kinds of internal change as all languages (§1.2.3.1). This being the case, it is not clear why he maintains that creoles should undergo decreolization, rather than be subject to the same external change processes as other languages in similar contexts of 'prolonged and intimate contact' (Bickerton 1980:112). In fact, elsewhere in his paper, Bickerton (1980:113) mentions the possibility that other 'special cases' of external change could arise in contexts similar to creole-lexifier contact. Therefore, Bickerton gives no justification for considering decreolization a 'special case' of external change and leaves investigation of how decreolization is distinct in that regard for future research. The present study tackles this vital question.

The major assertion that Bickerton makes to justify the 'special' nature of decreolization in relation to other processes of language change is the order of change. In *The Roots of Language*, Bickerton discusses decreolization in terms which invite comparison with borrowing (from the lexifier into the creole):

> '*Decreolization proceeds by acquiring new forms first and new functions later*. Newly acquired morphemes are at first assigned meanings and functions that already exist in the speaker's grammar; in other words, these morphemes have to be stripped of the meanings and functions which they had in the superstrate before they can be incorporated into the existing creole grammar. Only later, as that grammar itself changes, do they reacquire all or part of their original superstrate meanings and functions. I know of no counterexamples to this empirical finding, nor has it been challenged in the literature' (Bickerton 2016 [1981]:170, emphasis mine)

Siegel (2010:91) comments that Bickerton's definition 'is perhaps the only aspect of decreolization that is clearly stated in the literature that differentiates it from other forms of language change.' This distinction will thus be vital in the discussion of quantitative decreolization and contact-induced change undertaken in this thesis, and will be referred to as the Bickertonian definition of decreolization. As an example of 'new forms first, new functions later' change, Bickerton (1980:113) contrasts change in verbal morphology in Latin with that in Guyanese Creole. In Latin, he states that 'old forms' such as the verb *habēre* ('have') acquired 'new functions' as verbal auxiliaries in the

[6] Note that the examination of a given change cannot always constitute a sole basis for the subsequent attribution of this change to external or internal factors. In other words, the results of internally- and externally-motivated change can be indistinguishable without consideration of extra-linguistic factors (Farrar & Jones 2002).

Romance languages. In mesolectal Guyanese Creole, he reports that English *did* replaces the Guyanese Creole anterior marker *bin* while none of its 'old' English functions are carried over.

Thomason & Kaufman (1988:99) suggest that 'new forms first and new functions later' seems to describe a process of lexical borrowing that occurs without structural borrowing, whereby the 'new' borrowed form may undergo subsequent grammaticalization (i.e. acquire a 'new function'). This being the case, it is not clear why creoles should be subject to an exceptional process of language change and should not borrow syntactic structures from the lexifier: Thomason & Kaufman see 'no reason (and none is given in any of the literature on decreolization) to suppose that creole speakers are any less likely to borrow structure than speakers of languages with different sorts of historical origins' (1988:99). Furthermore, there is little to suggest that creoles are unique among the world's languages in borrowing lexical items without structure, as Thomason & Kaufman's Borrowing Scale shows (§1.1.2.2).

Thomason & Kaufman (1988:99-100) conclude their discussion of decreolization by commenting that: '[t]he burden of proof should lie on anyone who claims that [decreolization] is wholly different in this aspect from other types of borrowing and a few examples of 'new forms first' borrowing should not shift this burden of proof.' In the intervening decades, has this proof emerged? Siegel (2010:99) suggests that it has not, and that further research targeting this issue has simply not been conducted. Instead, as McWhorter (2003:204) comments, work on the 'older' model of decreolization that Bickerton proposed had largely slowed down by the late 1990s. In this section, an attempt will be made to test Bickerton's claims against some examples of decreolization from the literature.

Beyond this somewhat shaky distinction between contact-induced change and decreolization, there are two further problems with employing the concept of decreolization to account for contact-induced change in creoles. First, there is no clear indication in the creolistics literature of the specific target of decreolization in terms of linguistic domain(s) (Siegel 2010: 87). Bickerton (1975, 1980, 2016) appears to define decreolization as a morphosyntactic phenomenon; there is no indication of how the notion of 'old/new functions' should be adapted to e.g. the phonological domain (§1.2.3.2.2). Case studies that apply the term decreolization to the phonological or lexical domains (e.g. Romaine 1992, Mühlhäusler 1997) do not define the nature of the process, nor how it operates on these levels.

Second, another more fundamental problem with the concept of decreolization is its assumption that any given change will lead to the creole becoming more similar to the lexifier (aside from the fact that it not straightforward to define what 'more similar' means). As Mufwene (1994:72) and Siegel (2010:87) also note, decreolization appears to suggest that the creole is simply becoming 'less creole'. However, there is no reason to suppose that this should be the case. Instead, 'rather than simply shedding creole features, a 'decreolizing creole' is undergoing a series of innovative grammatical changes and not simply undoing its past' (Russell 2015:123). That is, decreolization suggests somehow that the creole is undoing its creole-like grammatical structure as result of contact with the lexifier, precluding any change which is induced through this contact but which does not result in the creole resembling its lexifier. Thomason (2008) argues that all language change is unpredictable, especially contact-induced change. In the case of creole-lexifier contact, there is no guarantee that contact between a creole and its lexifier will always induce convergent changes. Furthermore, the concept of decreolization presupposes the existence of a prototypical creole grammatical features which set creoles apart from other languages (see McWhorter 2018:21ff.), the loss of which can be interpreted as the grammar becoming 'less creole' (Siegel 2010:87). Proposals for these prototypically creole features are far from uncontroversial (see Roberts 2007:Ch.5 for some discussion).

To further test the robustness of the decreolization as a model of language change, the following section presents some examples of decreolization reported in the literature from morphosyntactic (§1.2.3.2.1), phonological (§1.2.3.2.2) and lexical (§1.2.3.2.3) domains. The structure of this section is intended to allow comparison with examples of change described in §1.1.3. Special attention is paid to whether these changes obey Bickerton's definition of decreolization as 'new forms for old functions.'

1.2.3.2.1. *Morphosyntactic change*

To further reinforce the discussion of Bickerton's characterization of decreolization as a process of borrowing which gives rise to 'new forms first followed by new functions', the example of syntactic decreolization will be taken from that same paper. Basilectal Guyanese Creole displays the fronting strategy in (1.9) (from Bickerton 1980:114).

(1.9) A wok mi wok
COP work 1S work
'Work, that's what I did'

Acrolectal Guyanese Creole retains the same syntactic structure, replacing the basilectal lexemes with 'new forms' (1.10). Using what Bickerton describes as 'new functions' (i.e. borrowing English syntax) but retaining the basilectal lexemes results in ungrammaticality (1.11).

(1.10) Is work I worked
COP work 1S work.PST
'Work, that's what I did'

(1.11) *Wok da a wa mi du.
work that COP what 1S do
for: 'Work, that's what I did'

The ungrammatical utterance in (1.11) could also be defined in more mainstream terms as syntactic calque from English. However, it is unclear why its grammatical counterpart (1.10) must be viewed as an example of decreolization with the usage of 'new forms'. Another perspective could be that (1.10) represents a syntactic calque of creole structures in the lexifier. As has been noted in §1.2.2.2, the influence of creole on the lexifier has not been widely studied despite changes of this type being commonly observed in language contact (§1.1.2).

A further example of morphosyntactic change attributed to decreolization is found in the urban varieties of Tok Pisin studied by Romaine (1992: 219), where the English plural morpheme *-s* is sometimes borrowed and suffixed to nouns. However, the usage of this morpheme is unstable: it does not always replace the standard pluralization strategies (prenominal plural marker *ol*, nominal reduplication) but instead co-occurs with them (1.12)-(1.13).

(1.12) Mipla go long taun, stap wan tu wik-s lo taun
2.PL.EXCL go PREP town stay one two week-PL PREP town
"We (exclusive) go to town and stay one or two weeks in town."
Morphological plural marking redundant because number (*tu*) specified.

(1.13) Ol Waritsian boi-s olsem i go
PL Waritsian boy-PL thus PRED Go
"The Waritsian (village) boys go."
Morphological plural marking redundant because plural marker *ol* present.

(1.14) Ol i go lo stua, em baim buk-buk-s bilong tupela
3.PL PRED go PREP Store 3.S buy book-book-PL of 2.DU
"They went to the store and he bought books for the two of them."
Morphological plural marking is redundant because *buk* ('book') is reduplicated.

Data from Romaine (1992)

According to Romaine's analysis, the use of the borrowed morpheme *-s* is governed by animacy and accessibility: the more animate and more accessible a lexeme is the more likely it is to use the borrowed plural morpheme. Romaine (1992:243) concludes that this is because the most accessible and most animate elements are the most salient in discourse (cf. Corbett 2000:Ch.3 on the role of animacy in number marking). Thus, these language-internal factors also play a role in this example of borrowing. Romaine's data on morphological decreolization in Tok Pisin also appear to contravene Bickerton's 'new forms' principle. Though the plural morpheme introduced into Tok Pisin is indeed a 'new form', it does not simply replace existing Tok Pisin pluralization strategies but instead competes with them. A 'new function' as well as a 'new form' is therefore introduced to the creole from its lexifier in this case.

1.2.3.2.2. *Phonological change*

Studies of decreolization have tended to concentrate on morphosyntactic change, with little attention given to phonology (Russell 2015: 125). Below, two examples of phonological change in creole-lexifier contact situations are presented: the first apparently induces convergence between the creole and its lexifier, but the second causes the two to diverge.

Romaine (1992) reports decreolization in the phonology of Tok Pisin: new phonological contrasts are developing especially in the urban varieties of the language that are in more intense contact with English. Specifically, Romaine observes that Tok Pisin is adopting labiodental fricatives [f] and [v] as allophones of /p/ and /b/. For example, /pis/ ('fish') is realized as [fis] by some speakers. These developments are not the result of substrate influence from the indigenous languages of Papua New Guinea according to Romaine; rather, the key factor appears to be influence from English (i.e. decreolization). This analysis emerges from Romaine's observation that such phonological forms are age-graded: older children with more exposure to English-language education tend to use more labiodental fricatives.

In contrast to Romaine's work, data in Smith (2002) suggest that most lexical borrowings are integrated into Tok Pisin phonology and do not have any effect on phonological distinctions. This may be a result of the later date of Smith's study. It is worth pointing out, however, that Romaine does not explicitly claim that [f] and [v] are attaining phonemic status in the phonology of Tok Pisin. Rather, she is careful to emphasize that the effect of this phonological borrowing is additive, not

subtractive, with speakers using [f] and [v] only in acrolectal speech (Romaine 1992:211). Nevertheless, according to Siegel (2008:241), this apparent 'decreolization' does not have as significant an effect on the phonology of Tok Pisin as the internally-motivated phonological reduction reported in §1.2.3.1.2.

Moreover, contact-induced phonological changes may not always lead to the creole becoming more similar to its lexifier. Holm (1988b) includes at least one example of decreolization leading to hypercorrection and, therefore, divergence from the lexifier. Lexical items often undergo apocope during creolization. During decreolization speakers may compensate for this through hypercorrection, appending an additional consonant to lexemes they perceive to have undergone apocope. In Miskito Coast Creole English, for example, hypercorrection has led to the emergence of the form *sinimint* for 'cinnamon' (Holm 1988b:110). It is unclear how these kinds of changes should be viewed from within the decreolization frame: clearly, they are the result of creole-lexifier contact but they do not result in the gradual convergence of the two varieties.

In sum, discussion of phonological change in decreolization raises three issues. First, as has just been mentioned, creole-lexifier contact can result in divergence between the phonologies of the creole and the lexifier. Second, as far as the examples above are concerned, phonological change in decreolization does not seem to be distinguishable from changes in general contact-induced change: borrowing of [ʒ] from vernacular Spanish for /j/ in Pipil (§1.3.1.2) seems indistinguishable on an abstract level from the Tok Pisin-English contact case. In both cases, variation arises as the result of the introduction of a sound from the dominant language. Third, phonological change in creole-lexifier contact does not support Bickerton's claim that 'new forms first' borrowing is unique to decreolization. A phoneme adopted from a lexifier into a creole might well be a 'new form' used for an 'old function' (if the definition of 'old function' can be extended to refer to the same segmental position in a phonological word). However, as the same phonological borrowing occurs regularly in other contact situations (e.g. Pipil), Bickerton's definition appears not to distinguish decreolization from contact-induced change but instead to unite the two.

1.2.3.2.3. *Lexical change*

Bickerton (1980) presents some lexical evidence from Guyanese Creole to support his discussion of decreolization. His motivation for presenting these data is to demonstrate that decreolization cannot proceed through a simple-one-to-one substitution of features (Bickerton 1980:111).

Lexeme	**Basilectal definition**	**Acrolectal replacement**	**'Decreolizing speaker' usage**
mash	'to crush, especially with feet'	*crush*	'beef and crushed potatoes'
jook	'poke; stab; bore; pierce; penetrate'	*bore*	(Newspaper headline) 'MAN GETS FOUR YEARS FOR BORING A WOMAN'

Table 8. Effects of decreolization on Guyanese Creole (*Bickerton 1980*)

Bickerton explains the data in Table 8 as a new lexical form from the lexifier being used in an mesolectal variety which has arisen through decreolization. Thus, the acrolectal forms *crush* and *bore* replace the basilectal forms *mash* ('crush') and *jook* ('poke; stab; bore'). These 'new forms' fill in for all the 'old functions' in the basilect: in other words, speakers overgeneralize and use them in acrolectal contexts where they would not normally be used. There is relatively little to glean from these data, however. Indeed, these are anecdotal examples which Bickerton himself recalls and therefore have an obvious selection bias. Further, each case in fact appears to be an example of creole influence on the lexifier, rather than the opposite. In each example, it appears that the speaker's creole L1 influences their production of what is (especially in the case of the newspaper) clearly English.

Romaine (1992) describes the relexification of specific semantic domains through borrowing from English. In some cases, speakers borrow English lexical items to fill lexical gaps in new domains such as politics, e.g. *baset* (< 'budget'). In other cases, no lexical gap exists but borrowing still occurs because of prestige, e.g. *informesen* (< 'information') instead of *toksave* (< *tok* 'talk' + *save* 'know'; 'news, information'). However, both of these instances of lexical borrowing appear to proceed as expected in any contact context and even in contexts of no intensive contact: as described in §1.1.3.1.4, lexical change can result from cultural changes. As Romaine (1992: 170) herself says: 'all languages borrow and all languages must continually renew their lexical resources to encode new concepts. In this respect Tok Pisin is no different from any other language.' Smith (2002: 100) notes that Tok Pisin also borrows from the indigenous languages of Papua New Guinea, e.g. *karakap* ('vegetable') from Tolai and *mao* ('fairy') from Manus. Lexical change in Tok Pisin therefore appears no different to contact-induced lexical change in non-creole varieties; the changes described here are not creole-specific in any way.

Even the phenomenon of pronoun borrowing (as reported in Mawayana and Resígaro by Aikhenvald 2012; see §1.1.3.2.4) has been observed in creole contexts. Jones-Jackson (1984:355) shows that Gullah has borrowed English pronouns /hi/ (< 'he') and /ʃi/ (< 'she'), partially replacing the Gullah third-person singular pronoun /i/ which specified no gender. This appears to go against

Bickerton's 'new forms first' principle in that although two 'new forms' are introduced to Gullah from English, they do not simply slot into the 'old function' in Gullah. If this were the case, /hi/ and /ʃi/ would be used interchangeably in place of /i/, rather than retaining their gender-specific functions from English.

1.2.4. Summary

In §1.2.2, we examined the extralinguistic factors involved in decreolization and focused specifically on comparing that process to those of language shift and maintenance as well as dialect and language contact. It has been demonstrated here that the sociolinguistic characteristics of described as 'quantitative decreolization' in the creolistics literature can be described in terms of language shift. Moreover, decreolization appears to be unable to account for several aspects of language contact in that it does not allow for the possibility of a creole which is maintained by the speech community, though creoles often act as important solidarity markers, and it is of limited usefulness in accounting for language obsolescence contexts, where maintenance and shift may occur simultaneously. It has also been demonstrated that decreolization leaves no room for a creole's substrate influence on its lexifier and that it cannot account for situations where a creole is in contact with a language other than its lexifier.

The linguistic basis of decreolization was tackled in §1.2.3. Linguistic changes motivated by 'qualitative decreolization'—and induced in a creole through contact with its lexifier—were discussed alongside internal changes. In terms of external change, the examples of morphosyntactic, lexical and phonological change reported in situations of creole-lexifier contact in §1.2.3.2 do not appear sufficiently distinct from those examined in obsolescence in §1.1.3.2. Furthermore, the changes reported in the literature on decreolization examined above do not always obey Bickerton's 'new forms first' maxim, supposedly the distinguishing feature of that process. In terms of internal change, it was shown that a focus on decreolization has meant that the role of internal factors has been overlooked in studies of language change in creoles (§1.2.3.1). The fact that the decreolization supposes the involvement of external change *only* divorces this approach from most modern approaches to language contact and change for which multiple causation is a keystone (e.g. Chamoreau & Léglise 2012; Farrar & Jones 2002; Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Mougeon & Beniak 1991; see §1.1).

Siegel (2010:96) suggests that 'decreolization' is an example of creolists' tendency to coin their own terms to suit their needs instead of working within the frameworks used in the wider field

of linguistics. Indeed, the above discussion seems to show that phenomena labelled 'decreolization' are adequately described by established frameworks in contact linguistics. As Thomason & Kaufman put it: 'decreolization is (not surprisingly) a complex combination of language shift and borrowing' (1988:305). Russell (2015) has approached decreolization in much the same way, viewing it as a combination of language shift and 'Lexifier Targeted Change'. By working within the framework of language contact and change and employing concepts from this field—rather than using concepts specific to creolistics—we can form a more nuanced and comprehensive account of the sociolinguistic and linguistic factors involved in change in creole languages. By the same token, insights gained from using these approaches can usefully feed back and inform the pursuit of research in linguistics in general (see also Aceto 1999; Russell 2015; Sankoff 1980; Siegel 2010).

As discussed, however, no data-driven diachronic study of decreolization has yet sought to test the alleged specificity of that process against processes of language contact and change in non-creole languages (cf. Patrick 1999). This thesis intends to undertake such an investigation and to ask whether creole languages change in ways which are distinct from non-creole languages.

Chapter 2. Louisiana Creole in Creole Louisiana

2.1. Introduction

Louisiana, today one of the United States, is the traditional territory of several Indigenous peoples and has long been the meeting point of diverse cultures and languages (for an overview see papers in Dajko & Walton in press). Comparative work shows that the similarities between the languages of the Lower Mississippi Valley are commensurate with the existence of a Sprachbund (Kaufman 2014, in press a). Testament to the territory's long history of multilingualism, present-day New Orleans was known to the Choctaw as *Bvlbạcha* (commonly *Bulbancha*), 'the place of many languages' (< *bvlbaha* 'talk in a foreign language' *ạsha* 'there is'; Byington 1915:87). Of the few Indigenous groups who survived European colonization, an even smaller number maintained their language.[7]

The European colonial project began in the late 17th century with waves of colonists from France establishing settlements in the Lower Mississippi Valley (Figure 2). Successive waves of European colonists brought with them their own languages, chiefly (regional varieties of) French, Spanish, German and English. The colonial economy was dependent upon slavery, and thousands of West Africans were brought to Louisiana and enslaved alongside the Indigenous population. This was the linguistically and culturally diverse setting for the emergence of a distinctive culture and ethnic consciousness, as well as LC itself.

This chapter traces the history of LC from its genesis to its endangerment and revitalization. It begins by reviewing the account of LC's genesis in Klingler (2003a), before introducing the vital distinction between the two regional varieties of LC examined in this thesis. It then turns to an account of language shift in Louisiana, introducing two dominant languages—French and English—and showing how they exerted differing influence on LC over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries with reference to the literature and to the experiences of people I interviewed for this study (see §3.2.2).

[7] It is no easy task to attempt to provide even a partial list of the different Indigenous groups who have inhabited the territory today known as Louisiana. Today, groups involved in language reclamation efforts include the Tunica (Anderson & Maxwell in press), Chitimacha (Brown et al. 2014), Koasati (Langley et al. 2018), Atakapa-Ishak (Kaufman in press b), and possibly the Avoyel (Chief J. Mayeux, p.c., January 2017).

Figure 2. French settlement in the Lower Mississippi Valley (Basse-Louisiane), *hereafter 'Louisiana'. Author: William Morris* (*Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0*)

2.2. The development and divergence of Louisiana Creole

2.2.1. Creole genesis: 18th-century Louisiana Creole

As has been noted by Neumann-Holzschuh (2011:ix) and Hall (1992a:192), written records of LC date back to the early 18th century and mean that LC is relatively well-documented in comparison to other French-lexifier creoles. On the basis of these data, the origin of LC has been discussed by Neumann (1985b), Marshall (1989), Speedy (1994, 1995), Valdman (1992, 1997) and most extensively by Klingler (2000, 2003a). The reader is referred to Klingler (2003a), whose in-depth analyses will not be replicated here, for a full exposition of the development of LC from a sociohistorical and linguistic perspective. Instead, this section briefly considers the sources he discusses before moving on to review his account of the genesis of LC.

Source	Date	Remarks (Klingler 2003a)
Memoirs, Le Page du Pratz (pub. 1758)	1718-1734	-Lexis, phonology and syntax diverges from other records -Account likely unreliable
Trial of Charlot *dit* Kakaracou	1748	-39 transcribed utterances -Some variation, unclear whether this is due to French-speaking transcriber or to the speech itself -Grammar and lexis strongly resemble later LC
Trial of Bombara	1773	-Only 2 utterances -Grammar conforms to that of later texts (cf. Marshall 1989)
Memoirs, Jean Bernard Bossu (pub. 1777)	1762	-'May [..] represent a more fully developed version of LC [than 1748 trial].' (Klingler (2003a:43) -Accuracy unclear -Neumann (1985b:1n2) suggests the utterances are Haitian Creole.
Trial of Latulipe	1791	-2 utterances -'With the exception of phonetic details, [...] conform perfectly to nineteenth- and twentienth-century LC' (Klingler 2003a:44)
Mina Slaves Trial	1792	-No examples of LC -Metalinguistic comments indicate a distinct language, *Criollo*, spoken by black and white inhabitants of Pointe Coupée.
Memoirs, C. C. Robin (pub. 1807)	1803-1805	-'With a few exceptions, the examples he provides are very close to LC as we know it from the mid-nineteenth century on.'

Table 9. Evidence on the development of LC in the 18th century from Klingler (2003a)

The earliest record of LC appears in the memoirs of Le Page du Pratz, who travelled in Louisiana between 1718 and 1734. Though they may not be completely reliable, these memoirs do suggest that a variety resembling LC was spoken by some of the enslaved population in the early 1700s (Hall 2003:107, Klingler 2003a:28, Marshall 1989:31). Based on other texts produced over the course of the 18th century (Table 9), it is possible to sketch a trajectory for the development of LC. The trial of Charlot *dit* Kakaracou (1748, Table 9) is an importance early source containing 39 utterances, though there is much variation throughout the document between French-like and LC-like structures. Klingler (2003a:43-42) suggests the existence of approximate varieties of French at this time but that 'the resemblances to certain grammatical structures and lexical items of LC as we know it from the 19th century are so striking as to allow us to conclude with confidence that, by the mid-18th century, Creole was well on its way to formation as an autonomous language.' Indeed, all other 18th-century sources in Table 9 contain extracts which largely conform to the grammatical structures seen in 19th-century texts according to Klingler's analysis. By the end of the 18th century,

metalinguistic comments (Mina Slaves Trial, 1792, Table 9) indicate that LC was recognized as a distinct language (called *criollo* in the Spanish court documents):

> '[…] es verdad que ellos no entenderan el Ydioma legitimo Frances, ni el Ingles; pero todos entienden, y se explican perfactamente en el Criollo que es una mescla, segun tambien llevo dicho, de la lengua de sus naciones y de la fransesa mal pronunciada y peor concordada: cuyo lenguage no lo saben todos los vecinos y havitantes franseses o Ingleses de la Provincia; pero yo, los testigos y El Escrivano […] que asistieron lo sabemos mui bien' (*Testimonio del Proceso* in Ricard 1992:126)[8]

Further comments suggest that LC was spoken by all native-born inhabitants of Pointe Coupée (free and enslaved) and by enslaved Africans who had only recently arrived and still maintained their own Mina language.[9] Based on these comments, it seems that bondspeople who had just arrived in Louisiana from West Africa picked up LC while in New Orleans, indicating a relative diffusion of LC along the lower Mississippi (Klingler 2003a, Ricard 1992).[10]

Based on these sources, Klingler (2003a) crafts an account for the genesis of LC with reference to the model of creolization proposed by Chaudenson (1992). This model makes a key distinction between the *société d'habitation* and the *société de plantation*. The former characterizes the early days of a colony: a society made up of small farms where the slaveholder would have worked alongside any slaves he owned. Here, the slaves would have had adequate opportunity to acquire an 'approximation of French' (*approximation du français*, Chaudenson 1992). As slaves of the same ethnic and linguistic background were kept apart, slaves in a *société d'habitation* would have used this approximation of French to communicate amongst themselves. *Sociétés de plantation* were found in more mature colonies to which a very large number of slaves was imported. The enslaved had little contact with francophone slaveholders; instead, most of their contact was with other slaves. The target language of these slaves was not the French of their masters, but the

[8] '[I]t is true that they do not understand the real French language, nor English. They all however understand and express themselves perfectly in Creole, which is a mix of the language of their tribe and of poorly-pronounced, and even more poorly-structured, French. This language is not known by all of French or English citizens and inhabitants of the province; the attending witnesses, scribe and I know it very well.'

[9] It is unclear to which language 'Mina' refers. Ricard (1992:124-125) suggests this was a variety of Fongbe or Yoruba. Fongbe is more likely than Yoruba: a Gbe language known as Mina-Jeje was spoken by enslaved people in present day Ouro Preto, Brazil (see de Castro 2002), most closely resembling the Eastern Gbe branch to which Fongbe belongs (Aboh 2015:122-126).

[10] Speedy (1994, 1995) has previously suggested that TLC has its origins amongst enslaved people from Saint-Domingue, who arrived in Louisiana between 1809-1810 after the Haitian Revolution. Klingler (2003:79ff.) has convincingly refuted this on the basis of linguistic and demographic evidence. This evidence suggests that if any variety of LC were to exhibit influence from 19th century Saint-Domingue Creole, it would be MLC. Overall, the linguistic influence of creolophones from Saint-Domingue was likely 'superificial [and] short-lived' (Klingler 2003:89-90), though space certainly exists for further investigations.

approximation of French spoken by others in bondage. Chaudenson (1992) posits that these approximations could stabilize into a creole once slave importation came to an end and as children were born and acquired this variety as their L1.

Klingler (2003a:56-60) shows that the situation in Louisiana does not fit Chaudenson's idealized model, resembling neither *société d'habitation* nor a *société de plantation* (cf. the critique of Chaudenson's model in Baker 1996). Small farms with only a handful of slaves existed simultaneously alongside larger plantations where the number of slaves far exceeded that of the white planters. In addition, many enslaved people lived in New Orleans, mingling with other Africans, Native Americans and non-francophone Europeans. Many of them also engaged in trade throughout the territory, performed military service, and some were permitted to travel between farms and plantations for social, religious and business purposes (cf. Hall 1992a). The experience of slavery in Louisiana, therefore, was more nuanced than the theories of Chaudenson (1992) would allow. Hall (1992a) provides evidence showing many slaves in Louisiana were not always separated from others of their same ethnolinguistic background.[11] Though the designated origins of the slaves taken from Africa to the New World must be treated with some skepticism (Klingler 2003a:57, Chaudenson 1992:74, Hall 1992a:43), strong evidence suggests that the enslaved population of Louisiana was able to organize itself into linguistically and culturally homogeneous communities. Consider the Mina Conspiracy (Table 9), or another occasion in 1731 when a group of 400 Bambara slaves 'speaking the same language' attempted an uprising (Hall 1992a:29). Further evidence for this can be found in the architectural and child-naming practices, even amongst Louisiana-born descendants of Africans (see the work on the life of Marie Thérèse *dite* Coincoin, e.g. Mills 2012, MacDonald & Morgan 2012, MacDonald et al. ms.; Roger Blench, p.c. December 2018). Klingler's account suggests that communities of enslaved people fostered the development of a new, Creole culture and language through diverse practices originating amongst Indigenous, African, and European-colonial populations. Successive generations acquired approximations of French, then 'approximations of approximations' (Klingler 2003a:91), etc., until there was a more-or-less stable language spoken in plantations all along the Lower Mississippi by the beginning of the 19th century.

[11] Many of the enslaved were taken from the Senegambia region and would likely have shared common knowledge of Senegambian languages (e.g. Fula, Sereer, Wolof) or of Manding languages (e.g. Mandinka, Malinka, Bambara) (cf. Hall 1992a:29, 1992b).

2.2.2. Two rivers, two dialects: Regional variation in Louisiana Creole

The fully-formed variety of LC, spoken throughout Louisiana in the 19th century, is referred to in this thesis as Old Louisiana Creole (OLC), which is taken as the progenitor for two contemporary 'congener' (Klingler 2003a:71) varieties of LC: one spoken along the Bayou Teche (Teche Creole, TLC) and one spoken along the Mississippi River (Mississippi Creole, MLC). TLC diverged from OLC, it is supposed, as a result of the former's intense contact with French (i.e. decreolization). This hypothesis has been mostly accepted as the mainstream interpretation since Neumann (1985a) and regional differences have been noted since at least Broussard (1942:ix). The hypothesis is key to the methodology in this thesis: if MLC has had less contact with French than TLC, contemporary MLC data can act as a control against which to analyze change in TLC. The first task in explaining regional variation is to establish the TLC- and MLC-speaking zones as two distinct regions, something not immediately obvious to those unfamiliar with Louisiana. While political maps give the impression of contiguity, Louisiana's southern half is riddled with uninhabitable swampland. Viewing the landscape in terms of inhabitable or walkable land gives a more realistic picture (Figure 3).

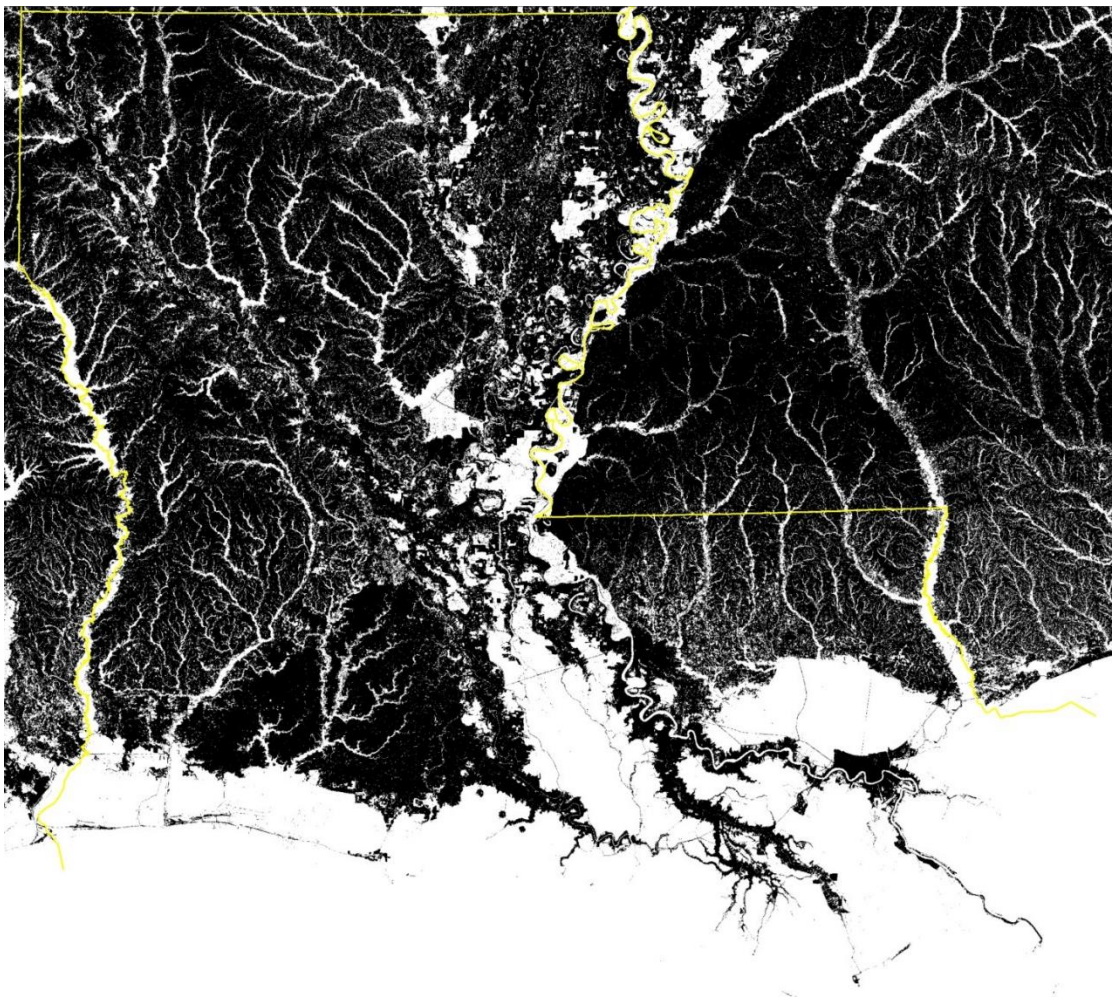

Figure 3. Inhabitable/walkable land in Louisiana (black). Created by Andrea Galinski using the U.S. Geological Survey's National Land Cover Data (2011). Used with permission.

Especially apparent in (Figure 3) is the Atchafalaya Basin, a highly biodiverse cypress swamp which is the largest wetland in the United States and which has for thousands of years served as a fishing and hunting ground (see Piazza 2014, see also §2.2.2.2.1). The Basin effectively divides south Louisiana in two: to its west lies the Bayou Teche, to its east the Mississippi River.[12] Thus in geographical terms it is possible to speak of two different regions, each with its own culturally-important waterway. These two waterways were also the sites of quite different colonial settlements where OLC took two different trajectories.

2.2.2.1. The Mississippi variety (MLC)

MLC is the direct descendant of OLC, still spoken today in some of the same settlements where it developed. The best-documented variety of MLC is that spoken in Pointe Coupée Parish (Klingler 1992, 2003). It is generally considered to have had much less contact with French than TLC, perhaps because there were relatively few Acadian settlers in this region (Klingler 2003a:100). Pointe Coupée MLC was also subject to contact with English relatively early on, with the arrival of 153 anglophone slaves from the United States in 1783 (Klingler 2003a:98). Recent diachronic analysis of this variety in Klingler (2019) represents an important point-of-reference for this thesis. The variety of MLC spoken in Vacherie, St James Parish is described in Marshall (1982), who notes a substantial difference in the speech of black and white speakers in this area. Other than Marshall's paper, there has been little other documentation of this variety until my own fieldwork in 2017 (see §3.2.2.2).

LC, while it developed in what is now known as the State of Louisiana, was once spoken throughout the plantation societies of the Gulf South, at least as far east as Mon Louis Island, Mississippi, as far west as present-day Lake Charles, and as far north as Natchitoches.[13] Klingler & Dajko (2006) conduct a review of the scanty data available for these 'peripheral varieties', which are now probably extinct. The best-described are the varieties of MLC once spoken on Mon Louis Island,

[12] An impression of the extent of this historical divide can be obtained by considering journey times. By pirogue or keelboat, the journey from St Martinville (on the Bayou Teche) to New Orleans (on the Mississippi River) took between three to six weeks, depending on weather and cargo. By the mid-1840s, the development of steamboat infrastructure cut the journey time to between 36 and 56 hours, but it was still hampered by difficulties of navigation and weather (Brasseaux & Fontenot 2004:38). Today, the journey takes around 3 hours by car, including a crossing of the Atchafalaya Basin Bridge, constructed in 1973 and spanning 29.29 km.

[13] More recent diaspora communities in East Texas, Los Angeles and Chicago are the result of migration out of Louisiana between the 1930s and the 1960s and are also historically creolophone, though the maintenance of LC in these communities has not been subject to much study (work on the East Texas variety of TLC is being conducted by Wendte 2016, 2018).

Alabama, and in St Tammany Parish, Louisiana. As these two represent enclave varieties of MLC and reference is made to them throughout diachronic analyses.

Marshall (1991) recorded the last two speakers of the now-extinct creole of Mon Louis Island LC (MLIC). MLIC resembles OLC substantially in both nominal and verbal domains, and thus serves as a useful triangulation point for hypotheses about language change in LC. Like MLIC, the LC of St Tammany Parish seems to have diverged very little from OLC. Significantly, it does not appear to have a two-form verb system (see §4.3.1). I believe that the presence of an enclave variety of LC in St Tammany can be explained by the existence there of a haven for runaway slaves amongst the Acolapissa population in the mid-1700s (indications of this can be found in Ellis 1981:38, Gilbert 1989, as well as in oral histories I have heard). St Tammany MLC therefore represents a significant point of interest for diachronic studies. More data should be obtained urgently; my own attempts to contact any remaining speakers have so far been in vain. This thesis occasionally references an unpublished manuscript in my possession, *A First Louisiana Creole Grammar* (Carriere & Viator m.s.). This work resulted from collaboration between Lucy Carriere, a native speaker from St Tammany, and Etienne Viator, who transcribed her translations of his elicitation sentences. This manuscript represents the best written record of St Tammany LC available.

2.2.2.2. The Teche variety (TLC)

TLC is amongst the best-described varieties of LC, documented by Lane (1934, 1935) and his graduate students Trappey (1916), Durand (1930) and Bienvenu (1933) (in Neumann-Holzschuh 2011); Broussard (1942); Morgan (1959, 1960, 1964, 1970, 1976); Tentchoff (1975); and especially Ingrid Neumann-Holzschuh (1985a, 1985b, 2001, 2003, 2006), whose 1985 grammar (Neumann 1985a) represents the first full description of any variety of LC and the last source of data published for this variety. I collected a sample for this thesis in early 2017 (see §3.2.2.1).

The divergence of TLC can be explained largely through its settlement history. Colonial settlement along the Bayou Teche, a region known as the Attakapas after its Indigenous inhabitants, began as early as the 1730s. Early settlements mostly comprised small agricultural operations, i.e. *une société d'habitation*, in contrast to the much larger holdings along the Mississippi (Chaudenson 1992, see §2.2.1). The number of slaves in Louisiana shot up from 9,201 in 1777 to 20,673 in 1788, and Speedy (1995:107) supposes that their destination was the fast-growing agricultural region along the Bayou Teche. Later work shows that the slave population of the region was consistently low relative to that of the Mississippi Valley, however, and that the number of slaves in the Attakapas did not

rise dramatically until the explosion of the sugar industry from the 1830s onwards (Klingler 2003a:72-73, cf. Follett 2007, Landry 2016). The enslaved population of the Attakapas was much older on average than the population of the plantations along the Mississippi River between 1770-1803 (Klingler 2003a:76). Klingler suggests that it is therefore likely that these enslaved population of the Attakapas were not new arrivals from Africa, but instead had previously spent significant amounts of time in New Orleans or on plantations along the Mississippi River, regions where an early variety of LC was already widely spoken.

This contact with French may be partially explained by the arrival of Acadian refugees in the 1760s-1780s, which represented an important growth in this region's francophone population. These new settlers were treated with disdain by the region's white Creole inhabitants and, though some families did eventually acquire significant wealth, they were mostly relegated to marginal status both socially and linguistically (cf. §2.3.2.1). It is therefore supposed that they worked alongside—and may have acquired LC from—enslaved creolophones (cf. Neumann 1985a, comments from Fortier in §2.3.2.1). The role of this population, however, has not yet been subject to detailed investigation.

2.2.2.2.1. The swampeur *hypothesis*

Henderson, a town along the Teche, is today home mostly to LC-speaking whites and was settled in the early 20th century chiefly by the descendants of *swampeurs*, hunters and trappers in the Atchafalaya Basin who were the descendants of Acadian refugees (Comeaux 1969). I suggest on this basis that the acquisition of LC by these (white) populations may not be as recent might be assumed. Also, this white creolophone population may have existed for a time in an enclave where their variety underwent stages of new dialect formation, including 'focusing' (Trudgill 1986).

Swampeurs must have entered the Atchafalaya already speaking a variety of LC, presumably heavily influenced by French. Conditions were probably favourable for the acquisition of LC (or LC features) by Acadian settlers before their forays into the Atchafalaya. Acadians settled along at the edge of the Atchafalaya as subsistence farmers and sharecroppers, living an existence quite divorced from white Creole landowners, who regarded them with suspicion and disdain (Bernard 2003, Brasseaux 1997, Comeaux 1969). Few Acadians were slaveholders; rather, they worked the land themselves, sometimes in close association with enslaved people. So close was this association that landholders (white and *gens de couleur libres*) felt that 'these poor, independent Acadians were [...] a bad influence on slaves on plantations,' which led to plantation owners to buying up their land in

an effort to move them away from their plantations (Comeaux 1969:20). In the late 19th century, Acadians certainly mixed French and LC (Fortier 1891:77).

Catahoula, a town excluded from the analysis in this thesis on account of that community's isolation, may be a missing link in the ethnolinguistic history of the Teche region. White families in Catahoula—who make up 100% of the settlement's population according to census data (US Census 2010)—typically are of Acadian descent. While the camps at Atchafalaya were abandoned for Henderson, Catahoula remained a community of *swampeurs*. Many of the town's older inhabitants speak a variety of LC which they refer to as *parle Katahoulou* ('speaking Catahoula'). When conducting interviews with creolophones from Catahoula, I was told time and time again that this *Katahoulou* variety of LC was 'like what they speak in Henderson', but was not quite 'French' or 'Creole'. Catahoula has a well-attested history as a 'whites only' settlement, meaning that there is no reason to suspect recent acquisition of LC from neighbouring black populations. Several black interviewees spontaneously raised Catahoula as an example of a town hostile to people of colour; as LD put it, '*ye lenm pa le nwar*' ('they don't like black folk', T2017LD[14]). It may be possible that the language spoken in Catahoula bears most relation to that variety spoken by Acadian *swampeurs* when they first entered the Atchafalaya and reported by Fortier (1891).

Future research should undertake to discern whether *Katahoulou* is a direct link to the language of the Acadian *swampeurs*, i.e. a variety of LC that was acquired by Acadians in the early- to mid-19th century and which existed as an enclave variety amongst Atchafalaya *swampeurs*. In particular, any such study should compare the LC of Catahoula to that of Henderson, with careful attention to assessing the presence of Acadian features (Neumann-Holzschuh & Mitko 2018, a comparative grammar of LF and Acadian French, is the ideal resource for this investigation). Such a study would have far-reaching implications for the history of LC, effectively changing our understanding of how white communities in the Teche acquired their language, and how TLC in this region has changed over time. Rather than assuming a linear process of decreolization to have taken place during the early- to mid-19th century, this scenario points to a much earlier and more complex process. It suggests that close contact between Acadians and enslaved creolophones led to the emergence of a variety called *Katahoulou* amongst the former population, who then migrated into the Atchafalaya basin and consolidated this variety. This provides one possible explanation to a longstanding mystery in LC studies, namely how white families acquired LC. It also leads to a variety of further

[14] Speaker identification code; see §3.2.

questions, especially: (i) whether *Katahoulou* is best understood diachronically as *créole francisé* or *français créolisé*, and (ii) whether black communities acquired LF contact features from this population or from somewhere else.

2.3. Shifting identities, shifting languages

Today, LC is critically endangered. The most recent published estimate by Klingler & Neumann-Holzschuh (2013), puts the number of speakers at 'well under 10,000', a decline of at least 40,000 since Klingler (2003:xxxvii). Based on these figures, I estimate conservatively that in 2019 between 3,500 and 6,000 speakers remain.[15] All but a handful of L1 speakers of LC are over the age of 60, all are bilingual in English, and intergenerational transmission has ceased.[16] It is unlikely that the language will outlive this last generation of speakers. The classification of LC in the *Ethnologue* (Lewis et al. 2018) at EGIDS 7 'Shifting' is therefore inaccurate and should be downgraded to at least EGIDS Stage 8a 'Moribund', where:

> 'Only the grandparent generation has any active and frequent speakers of the language, though some in the parent generation could speak it, though probably with less proficiency and with many examples of contact phenomena, if called upon to do so.' (Lewis & Simons 2010:117)

Earlier literature typically reported negative attitudes to LC, which may underlie this shift: '*une langue largement dépréciée et ridiculisée*' (Neumann 1985a:12), 'LC speakers see no reason to preserve their stigmatized vernacular' (Marshall 1997). Over the past three decades, however, there has been an 'attitude shift' (Sallabank 2013:65, cf. Dorian 1993:577) whereby LC has acquired an 'important symbolic role as a marker of a distinct Creole identity that black and mixed-race Creoles have become increasingly interested in expressing and preserving' (Klingler 2003a:xxxii, cf. also Dugar 2009, Managan 2012, Landry 2016).

To put the endangerment of LC in context, this section addresses language shift in Louisiana. The primary focus is to give context to the intensive pressure LC speakers have experienced to shift

[15] If in 2003 there were 50,000 speakers (Klingler 2003:xxxvii) and in 2013 there were 10,000 speakers (Klingler & Neumann-Holzschuh 2013), assuming a constant relative rate of change over this 18-year period (making this a conservative estimate), the annual loss of speakers can be derived as follows: $50{,}000 * x^{18} = 10{,}000$. Solving this equation for x yields a rate of retention of 0.9144 (i.e. an annual loss of 8.6% of the LC-speaking population per year), returning an estimate of 5,848 speakers in 2019. Substituting the estimate by Klingler & Neumann-Holzschuh (2013) with 2013 US Census Bureau data for respondents indicating 'French Creole' (reported by Klingler 2017:394f.) returns 3,487 speakers.

[16] I know a speaker in her 40s, another who reports that he taught his granddaughter LC and one example of a child being raised with some exposure to LC by a mother who learned the language on Facebook (see Chapter 7. According to Costello & LaFleur (2014), the last known monolingual speaker of LC in Pointe Coupée Parish died in 2012 at age 94.

to the two dominant languages present in Louisiana, English and French, addressed in §2.3.2 onwards. As will be shown, the complex process of language shift was accompanied by a shift in ethnic identification. The secondary purpose of this chapter is therefore to disentangle Louisiana's web of ethnolinguistic identities, which are notoriously complex, contested and contradictory. Discussion below describes and disambiguates important ethnonyms and glossonyms used in this thesis, drawing on linguistic-anthropological and ethno-historical literature as well as my own fieldwork. This section begins by tackling the issue of race, vital as it is to understanding LC in its social context.

2.3.1. The sociolinguistics of race in Louisiana: A critical approach

> Twa se en nòm blan. To janme si war sa. Me mo mo war sa. To p ap konmpran sa. T ale janme konmpran sa.
>
> *'You're a white man. For sure, you'll never experience* [*racism*]*. But I experienced it. You don't understand it. You'll never understand it.'* (T2017MB)

The understanding of race in this thesis is grounded in Critical Race Theory (see especially Crenshaw et al. 1995, Delgado & Stefancic 2017). Basic primers on the subject (e.g. Barnshaw 2008) agree that race is a socially-constructed category which essentializes arbitrary human phenotypical traits as socially and culturally meaningful, thus producing social groupings with shared cultural identities and practices. Race—more exactly, whiteness—underpins systemic discrimination and structural inequality (see Allen 2012a, 2012b, cf. Harris 1993, Lipsitz 2006, Touré 2011), with the result that '[t]he direction of power between whites and people of color is historic, traditional, normalized, and deeply embedded in the fabric of U.S. society' (DiAngelo 2011:56). Moreover, the fundamentally different lived experiences of differently-racialized bodies create different subjective knowledge (see Fanon 1952, hooks 1992), a point especially pertinent to this thesis.

As a white researcher working with communities of colour, my research can never fully reveal what it means to survive as a person of colour in a society which privileges those classed as white (cf. Bhopal 2018, DiAngelo 2011, McIntosh 1988). Many texts cited in this thesis, especially those from the 19th and early 20th century, exhibit scientific racism typical of white grammarians of that period (DeGraff 2003, 2005). It is therefore especially important here to emphasize my rejection of racialism, i.e. the understanding of race grounded in scientism (in the sense of Hayek 1942). The analysis in this thesis demonstrates how the pervasive social construct of race—and its

weaponization by the state in the form of racial segregation—has shaped social life and, consequently, linguistic practices (cf. Alim et al. 2016). I recognize that the analysis, especially because it is quantitative, risks essentializing certain language practices. As the pages to follow will show, statistical analysis cannot fully capture the diverse sociolinguistic experiences and identities of people of colour in Louisiana.

A note on terminology is also in order. I use the labels 'black' and 'white' as social labels referring to the two sides of the Jim Crow divide, operationalized here by classing speakers according to the school they attended during segregation (see §3.2.2). I employ the terms 'person of colour' and 'communities of colour' to discuss sociolinguistic background, since they are helpful in addressing the broad dynamics of race in present-day Louisiana, home to many racial and ethnic groups that fit this distinction (Indigenous people, *gens de couleur libres* and Creoles of Color, Black Creoles, African Americans, Haitians, *Mestizos* and *Métis*, Vietnamese, Laotians, amongst many others). These terms are not employed in the analysis, since its specific focus is on the role of Jim Crow segregation in shaping community structure and language practice. The binary constructs 'black' and 'white'[17] are more suited to that context, since it was according to these labels that creolophone communities were bifurcated and racialized under Jim Crow, 'a regime of institutionalized terror and violence' (Barthe 2016:85) where whites forcibly erased distinctions between all non-white identities.

The echoes of this process persist to this day and the multifaceted ethnic and linguistic identities of contemporary Louisiana are fundamentally entwined with changing, contested constructions of race since the colonial period. Colonial Louisiana had a tripartite class distinction between 'the master-caste of whites [*blancs*], an intermediary caste of (typically bourgeois or petite-bourgeois) people of color [*gens de couleur libres*], and a subjugated caste of blacks [*noirs*]' (Barthe 2016:24). These designations were used alongside a set of various phenotypical descriptors—*griffe, mulâtre, quateron, nègre, blanc,* etc.—in common with other French and Spanish colonies in the Americas (Domínguez 1986, Landry 2016; cf. the *sociedad de castas* of Mexico, Cope 1994). All those native to Louisiana—regardless of their racial classification—were described as *créole*: '*créole* means native and has no reference to color or race; that creole horses and creole cows are as commonly spoken of as creole men' (*The Nebraska Advertiser*, 15 July 1858 in Landry 2016:5).

[17] I write 'black' and 'white' in lower case in accordance with the Style Guide of the National Association for Black Journalists (2019).

Numerous ethnic identities tied to heritage, ancestry and social positions qualified the 'creole' label, thus Louisiana was home to *esclaves créoles, français créoles, allemands créoles*, etc. Even the Louisiana-born children of the Acadian refugees who arrived from the 1760s onwards (see §2.2.2.2.1)—later to be reinvented as 'Cajuns' (see §2.3.6)—were designated *créoles*. In this thesis, the term 'Creole' is used in this sense, i.e. as an ethnocultural and not as a racial descriptor.

2.3.2. *La vente de la Louisiane*: French and English in Louisiana (1803-1863)

Napoleon sold French colonial holdings to the United States in 1803, an enormous political change which occurred in Louisiana just as LC had emerged as a stable language (§2.2.1). Over the course of the coming century, LC would be shaped by contact with both French and English to varying extents.

2.3.2.1. French in 19th-century Louisiana

In the first half of the 19th century, Louisiana's linguistic landscape remained relatively unchanged: 'for about forty years after the cession to the United States, the Louisianians of French descent studied little English and, in reality, did not absolutely need that language in their daily pursuits' (Fortier 1884:97). French remained the dominant language of public and political life (Neumann-Holzschuh 2014). This prestige variety—dubbed Plantation Society French (hereafter PSF)— was the prestige variety spoken by wealthy landowners (white and *gens de couleur libres*) who were themselves educated in French by French tutors. It was a Creole élite's rite of passage to travel to Paris to complete their education. PSF thus evolved in tandem with the French prestige standard (Picone 2015:275-278, see remarks in Fortier 1894).

At this time, LC existed in a diglossic relationship with PSF (Hall 1992a:195, Tinker 1932:401, Mercier 1880:2, Picone 2015:277) and acted as *lingua franca* across lines of race and class:

> 'Tous les petits blancs d'origine française, en Louisiane, ont parlé ce patois concurrement avec le français; il y en a même parmi nous qui ont fait usage exclusivement du dialecte des nègres, jusqu'à l'âge de dix ou douze ans; je suis un de ceux-là' (Mercier 1880:2)[18]

White Creole writers such as Mercier, Fortier, Broussard, etc., often expressed romantic, nostalgic associations with their childhood language but its origins amongst the enslaved meant that LC was

[18] 'All white children of French origin in Louisiana spoke this patois as well as French. Some of us only used the black dialect (*dialecte des nègres*) until the age of ten or twelve – I myself am one of them.'

regarded as a low-status, deficient language (Tinker 1935:120, Picone 2015:278, Neumann-Holzschuh 2014). Amongst the enslaved, LC maintained an important status as a community language. An increasing number of anglophone slaves arrived over the course of the 19th century, and at first they were under pressure to acquire LC (Picone 2003, see §2.3.2.2). However, little is known about the lives of most enslaved people, let alone their language practices (cf. §2.2.1). Ongoing research conducted by Sand Marmillion and Katy Morlas Shannon at Laura Plantation traces the personal histories of people in the slave community. This research will be vital to understanding multilingualism in 19th-century plantation societies in south Louisiana (cf. Picone 2003).

Similarly, little is known about the varieties of French spoken by working-class whites. 18th-century colonists from Normandy, Poitou, Saintonge and Picardie must have brought considerable linguistic diversity to the early colony. In the late 18th century, Acadian French would add to this diversity of French-related varieties. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, a complex process of dialect levelling occurred which saw the emergence of a heterogenous set of Louisiana regional French varieties (Neumann-Holzschuh 2009, 2014; Picone 1997, 2015; Rottet 2001, 2006). The fact that these never stabilized into a *koiné* is likely due to the rise of English in Louisiana (Neumann-Holzschuh 2014:138).

Like LC, Louisiana regional varieties of French existed in a subordinate position to PSF. Their subordinate status, as well as the close associations between Acadians and the enslaved population in some areas (see §2.2.2.2.1), may explain why Fortier (1891:77) reported that Acadians spoke 'Acadian French mixed with the Creole patois and a little English' (cf. Lane 1935:9). This constitutes important evidence which, taken in the light of the rest of the discussion, suggests a degree of mutual influence between French and LC may already have been present in the late 19th century.

Before moving on, a terminological note is needed. This thesis most often uses the label 'French' to refer to all contemporary varieties of the language spoken in Louisiana. Where it is necessary to specify the variety, I adopt Klingler's label Louisiana Regional French (LF) here (*pace* Picone 2015), which I use to refer to French as spoken in Louisiana today.[19] The French revitalization

[19] While I accept that many white Louisianans identify as Cajun, the label 'Cajun French' is inappropriate for sociolinguistic research and language planning efforts. Most importantly: 'Cajun French' implies that French in Louisiana is spoken only by Cajuns (i.e. white people) to the erasure of thousands of francophones of colour (cf. Klingler 2003b, 2015; see §2.3.6 for details). Moreover, it implies that French in Louisiana has its origins in Acadian French, an inaccurate trope. The colony of Louisiana was francophone from its earliest beginnings, a century before the arrival of Acadian refugees in the late 1700s. Linguistic analyses have demonstrated that Acadian French made a minor contribution to the processes of dialect levelling which produced the varieties

movement (§2.3.6), globalization and the growth of the state's tourist industry has meant that Louisiana has been increasingly (re-)exposed to international varieties of French since the 1960s (cf. Klingler 1994). Some franco-creolophones today have some exposure—through language classes or self-study—to a variety I label Reference French (RF; *français de référence*, see papers in Francard et al., eds., 2000, 2001).

2.3.2.2. English in 19th-century Louisiana

When Louisiana came under the control of the United States in 1803, it became evident that English would begin to have an important status: just 9 years later, the new Constitution specified that all legislative and judicial proceedings were to be kept 'in the language in which the constitution of the United States is written' (State of Louisiana 1812). The Constitutions of 1845 and 1852 encouraged bilingualism in legislative proceedings (State of Louisiana 1845, 1852).

The pressure to shift to English during the first half of the 19th century was mainly exerted top-down upon the PSF-speaking élites (Picone 2015). Early 20th century commentary suggests that the effect on LC was limited by its subordinate position to French, and that members of the working and enslaved classes were relatively insulated from language contact: 'the English has had little or no influence upon the Creole of Louisiana except as it worked first through the standard French' (Lane 1935:8).

There has been relatively little attention given to the use of English amongst the enslaved population, even though they likely represented the highest proportion of creolophones in the 1800s. The Sugar Boom of the 1830s meant that Louisiana slaveholders bought thousands of people from the anglophone United States (Follet 2007; see Landry 2016 for a history of the impact in the Teche region). These bondspeople arrived on creolophone plantations with no knowledge of LC. Given their large numbers, they must have exerted considerable linguistic 'pressure from below' (Picone 2003). Crucially, they spoke a 19th-century variety of African American English (AAE); the influence of this language on LC has not been subject to much discussion (though see Picone 2003).

Dubois & Horvarth (2003b, 2003c) identify Creole African American Vernacular English (CAAVE), a variety of AAE heavily influenced by LC (see also Oetting & Garrity 2006). There is a much larger literature on Cajun English (Dubois 2002; Dubois & Horvath 2003a, 2001, 1998;

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that linguists today refer to as of LF (Klingler 2009, 2015; Neumann-Holzschuh 2014; Neumann-Holzschuh & Mitko 2018).

Carmichael in press, 2013; Walton 2002). Based on the current literature, comparative work to outline the linguistic differences between these varieties remains a desideratum. They share a number of features including th-stopping (Dubois & Horvarth 1998), reduced verbal morphology and zero-copula constructions (Dubois & Horvarth 2003a, 2003b, 2003c). It is also clear that racial segregation has impacted upon their development: CAAVE borrows preverbal markers from AAE (Dubois & Horvarth 2003b, 2003c), while Cajun English phonology is influenced by other English varieties spoken in the southern United States (Carmichael 2019, Dubois & Horvarth 1998, Walton 2002). I therefore class CAAVE and Cajun English as sub-varieties of Louisiana English (LE). As in the case of LF, I refer only where necessary to distinguish specific features relative to those of 'English'.

2.3.3. Emancipation and Reconstruction (1863-1900)

The end of the Civil War and Emancipation represented a complete upheaval of Louisiana society at every level, though not in the direction of equity. Zinn (2005:171-172) stresses: 'Liberation from the top would go only so far as the interests of the dominant groups permitted [...] [W]hile the ending of slavery led to a reconstruction of national politics and economics, it was not a radical reconstruction, but a safe one—in fact, a profitable one' (cf. Baptist 2016, Du Bois 1935, Fairclough 1999). So it was that a visit to the South led Fredrick Douglass to 'denounce [...] so-called emancipation as a stupendous fraud' (speech given April 16 1888, in Foner & Taylor, eds., 1999:695-696).

During my fieldwork, family histories of the Sugar Strike of 1887 were stark reminders of this. Amongst the 10,000 who joined the Strike were indentured labourers from Vacherie (§3.2.2.2) who had been emancipated just a few decades earlier. They demanded the abolishment of the plantation scrip system under which they were not paid in cash but in, *tokèn* ('tokens', 'scrip') only redeemable at the plantation store (for details of this system see Lurvink 2014, 2018). The white planters' response was violent: between 35 and 300 people (including children) were killed by state-sanctioned white militias during what is now known as the Thibodaux Massacre. So brutal was the response that it it was not until 1950 that any attempt was again made to organize black sugar cane labourers (see Bell 2011, Rodrigue 2001:183ff.). Many elderly people I spoke to in Vacherie were raised on plantations which employed the token system.

Such violent white reactions to Emancipation underpinned a nation-building process which emphasized monolingualism and racial segregation. Monolingualism was imposed in a top-down process with the State Constitutions 1864 and 1868 specifying English as the only language of government (State of Louisiana 1864, 1868; Dubois et al. 2018),[20] a process which would continue into the 1900s (§2.3.4). Racial segregation—the imposition of the Jim Crow black-white binary—split Louisiana society into various factions rallying to claim themselves and others as either black or white (Domínguez 1986; see Landry 2016 on 'blackened' and 'whitened' Creoles). As any native of Louisiana could be Creole regardless of their race, the term quickly came to carry overtones of 'miscegenation' in the eyes of Anglo-Americans.

Prominent white Creoles such as Alcée Fortier sought to reject these assumptions and instead construct 'Creole' as referring to their own circle of affluent, white francophone literati (Gipson 2016, Tinker 1935:120ff.). Whereas LC has always been spoken across racial lines, the language was rejected by socially-mobile white families as a marker of blackness or miscegenation. White anxiety about the term 'Creole' would persist for decades, evidenced even in white linguists' responses to the designation 'creole languages' (Tinker 1935:102). Lane (1935:5), for example, rejects the label 'creole language', since in his view 'the adjective of creole applies properly to persons of the pure white race.' At this point, many prosperous white Creole families began to integrate with the wealthy Anglo-Americans who began to move in elite circles, and it seems that these upper echelons of society were—with some exceptions—the first to shift to English and abandon PSF (Picone 2015:279). Rural, poor white families—including the descendants of Acadian refugees—meanwhile remained more isolated (Brasseaux 1992, Fontenot 2018).

For those once classed as *noirs* and *gens de couleur libres*, Americanization had devastating social implications as both were consigned to a 'coloured' underclass (Domínguez 1986, Landry 2016). Some *gens de couleur libres* used their phenotypical ambiguity to 'pass' as white outside of Louisiana: others remained, fighting costly, fruitless court battles to maintain recognition as a distinct ethnic group and to distance themselves from emancipated slaves (see Barthe 2017).

2.3.4. Americanization and Jim Crow (1920-1960)

> 'Soon the Gombo will be a dead language.'
> (Tinker 1935:127)

[20] This did not go unchallenged by Creole legislators and was overturned in 1879: it was then reverted in 1898.

By the turn of the 20th century, the United States had hardened its stance on the already aggressive policy of Americanization as Roosevelt declared that there was 'no place [...] for the hyphenated American' (Anon., *New York Times*, 3 October 1915). In Louisiana, this further reinforced the shift away from local ethnic identities and towards Americanized binary racial designations (the under 'Jim Crow' laws) and towards the English language (Domínguez 1986, Dubois & Melançon 2000, Tentchoff 1975, Maguire 1987, Perkins 2017).

The abandonment of French and LC in rural communities did not proceed overnight, nor in a uniform fashion. This is recently demonstrated by Dubois et al. (2018), whose analysis of local Catholic Church records demonstrates that the shift to English in rural Louisiana proceeded more gradually, unevenly and later than has been supposed. Church administrators in some villages changed to English only in the late 1950s, underscoring the relative isolation of many rural Louisiana communities. Dubois et al. (2018) find that the average switch to English occurred in 1907, preceding the introduction of compulsory education in 1913, which was made English-only in 1921. This period therefore represented the erosion of two prestigious domains in institutions at the heart of rural communities—schools and churches—which surely had a considerable impact on community life and language practices. The 1920s therefore likely precipitated the linguistic point of 'tip' (§1.1.2.3) towards English.

In the years following, the extent of this shift to English and the role of French differed profoundly on either side of the Jim Crow divide, as the increasing entrenchment of the racial binary was reflected in community structures and schooling practices.

2.3.4.1. Language shift in black communities in the Teche region

Black creolophones were 'doubly marginalized': both non-anglophone and non-white (Dubois et al. 2018:87, Squint 2005). Crucially, servitude persisted in the form of peonage on sharecropping plantations well into the 1960s in some areas of Louisiana (Blackmon 2009, Harrell 2009). In the Teche region, in the 1940s-1950s black Creoles relocated from plantations to black 'sub-divisions' such as Knapville (in Cecilia), Le Doux (in Saint Martinville), Pecanvilla (Breaux Bridge) and Promised Land (Parks) (Maguire 1987:165, see also Breton & Louder 1979). These neighbourhoods have remained largely separate, fitting the pattern of residential segregation which has been termed the 'structural lynchpin' of racial stratification in the United States (Pettigrew 1979:114).

Ethnographic research by Maguire (1979, 1987) in Parks provides a valuable window on community structures in Black communities in the Teche region, and the relationship of this to language usage. Maguire's work underlines how the tight-knit community of Parks created a highly interdependent network of families living side by side 'on the margin, hustling to survive' (1987:212). This tight community has centred around common culinary, musical and linguistic practices. In his years of participant observation in Parks, Maguire found that LC served a solidarity function, marking community membership. LC was 'a rather private language in the sense that it is not broadcast to outsiders, but is used in certain situations where a community "in-group" exists.' (Maguire 1979:301, see also 1987:396).

Furthermore, in rural black communities throughout Louisiana there was often no official provision for school whatsoever until relatively late. Black children had to walk (often several miles) to school—in all weather—while white children passed by in a school bus (2.1). In many cases, children worked in the fields instead of attending school (2.2).

(2.1)
sezla k te RIDE BUS le blan te RIDE BUS, pa nouzòt le nèg. Kan ye te pase a nouzòt ye te krache an nouzòt.
'The ones riding the bus, the white kids rode the bus, not us black kids. When they passed us by they used to spit on us.'
(T2017MY)

(2.2)
Na en ta dan ye dan motchèn laj ki janme kouri lekòl. NAME li te kouri lekòl en ti peu jichka ye apran ye A, B, C epi ye ONE TWO THREE, epi ye te dan klo, to wa, ye te bezwen dèt dan klo pou fe ye travay.
'Many people my age never went to school. NAME went to school a little bit until they learned their ABCs and one-two-threes, and then they were out in the field. You see, they had to be out in the field to work.'
(T2017DB)

Early elementary schools were often staffed by women from the community who were themselves franco-creolophone. Although they insisted that the children learn English, these teachers often permitted the use of creole in the schoolyard and sometimes even in the classroom (T2017GB). Where schoolhouses were staffed by teachers from outside the community as was the case in Parks, the schools were overcrowded and overstretched (Maguire 1987:219). In 1940, the amount of spending for black schools was 24% of that allocated for white schools, and black teachers were paid 65% less than their white counterparts (Fairclough 1999:36).

Black communities therefore experienced less overt pressure to shift to English than white communities. In all, despite its overall low status relative to LF and English, LC did serve an

important solidarity function in black communities as a marker of group identity. This meant that there was less pressure to accommodate to LF than in white communities and that top-down pressure was exerted chiefly by English (including AAE, cf. §2.3.2.2).

2.3.4.2. Language shift in white communities in the Teche region

Prosperous white Creole families began to integrate steadily into Anglo-American society and it seems that these upper echelons of society were—with some exceptions—the first to shift to English. Rural, poor white families meanwhile remained more isolated (see Fontenot 2018). They were often denigrated and marginalized by wealthy white Anglo-Americans and Americanized white creoles, who used the slur 'Cajun' (from *Acadien* 'Acadian', after the refugees, §2.2.2.2.1) (Brasseaux 1992:104-105): 'A Creole mother would say to her child, "*Tu es habillé comme un Cadien; ça c'est Cadien*" and that made her point' (St Martin 1937:861, cf. Henry 1998). These poor white families sometimes lived alongside black families as sharecroppers, but their race meant that they led quite different lives.

LC-speaking white children were bussed to whites-only schools for primary and secondary education, where their teachers were often from outside the community, or francophone themselves. These teachers, many of them *yanki* ('Yankees'), enforced a strict English-only policy on school grounds, sometimes through corporal or other punishment. To escape detection by the teachers, some children would spend breaks in the bathroom gossiping in their native language (2.3). Even when they found space to use their native language in school, creolophone children were often teased by their French-speaking classmates for 'talking black'.

(2.3)
no te pa supoze parle kreyòl dan lakour a lekòl. Me no te kouri dan la chanmb-a-ben dan l RESTROOM epi no parle kreyòl
'We weren't supposed to speak Creole in the school playground. But we went into the bathrooms and we spoke Creole.' (T2017RM)

Further, white communities mostly consisted of francophones. In the Teche region, white creolophones from Cecilia and Henderson lived, worked and intermarried with other francophone whites from inside and outside of their hometowns. I interviewed four white creolophone women who married francophone men. They all described how they 'learned good French' to fit in with their husband's families. As they did in the schoolyard, white creolophones found their language denigrated and deprecated by their in-laws, often through the usage of racial epithets (e.g. 'n——

French'). Unlike black creoles, they had no motivation to maintain their language, instead accommodating to relatively higher-status LF at home and English in the public sphere.

2.3.4.3. Language shift in the Mississippi region

MLC was influenced by the different dynamics of segregation. In Back Vacherie (see Chapter 3 for the distinction between 'Back' and 'Front' in Vacherie), interviewees described that it was normal for black and white children to play together after returning from segregated schools. Between these friends, LC was the lingua franca and remains so to this day. Similar dynamics have been described by local historians Costello and La Fleur (2014) in Pointe Coupee, where white children would often not acquire LF fully until adolescence, much as they did in the 19th century (§2.3.2.1).

2.3.5. Civil Rights, Cajunization and the Creole Renaissance (1964-2019)

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 provoked an uproar amongst Louisiana's white ruling class, who resisted desegregation for many years thereafter. Full integration of Louisiana's schools thus did not come into effect until the 1970s (Bankston & Caldas 2002; Fairclough 1999, 2007). Many Creoles of colour I spoke to reflected on integration as a harrowing childhood experience, they were 'treated as lepers' by white students and teachers (Fairclough 1999:438). Segregation persists in many aspects of Louisiana society. The last school desegregation case in St Martin Parish was heard in 2016 (*United States of America* vs. *St Martin Parish School District,* et al.). Most rural settlements still have a 'black side of town' (Figure 4), with a significantly lower average income (Figure 5). It is in these neighbourhoods where the highest proportion of people report knowledge of LC today (Figure 6; N.B. language data are self-reported and should be treated with caution due to language-naming practices, cf. §2.3.6, Klingler 2003b; see also §3.2.2.1).

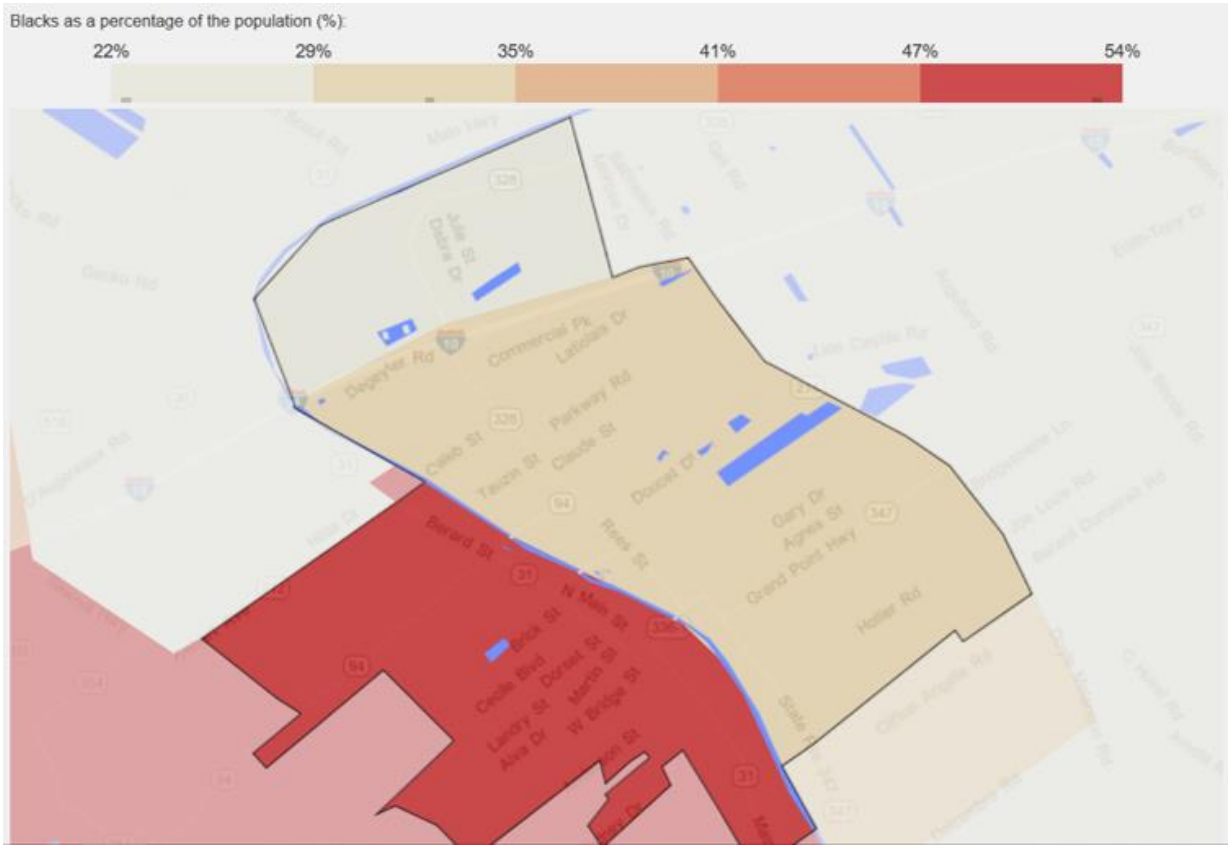

Figure 4. Black population by Census Tract, Breaux Bridge, Louisiana. Data: US Census 2010; Mapping: StatisticalAtlas.com (https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Louisiana/Breaux-Bridge/Race-and-Ethnicity).

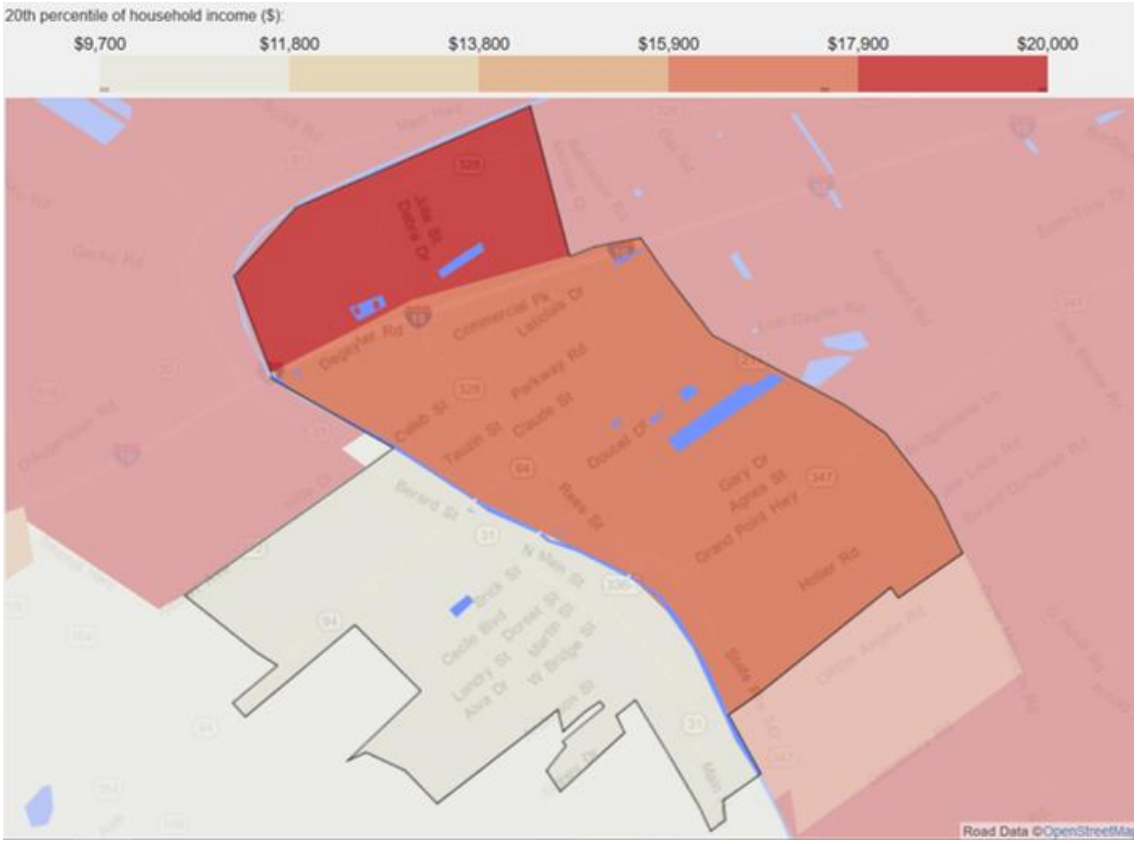

Figure 5. Household income by Census Tract, Breaux Bridge, Louisiana; Data: US Census 2010; Graphics: StatisticalAtlas.com (https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Louisiana/Breaux-Bridge/Household-Income).

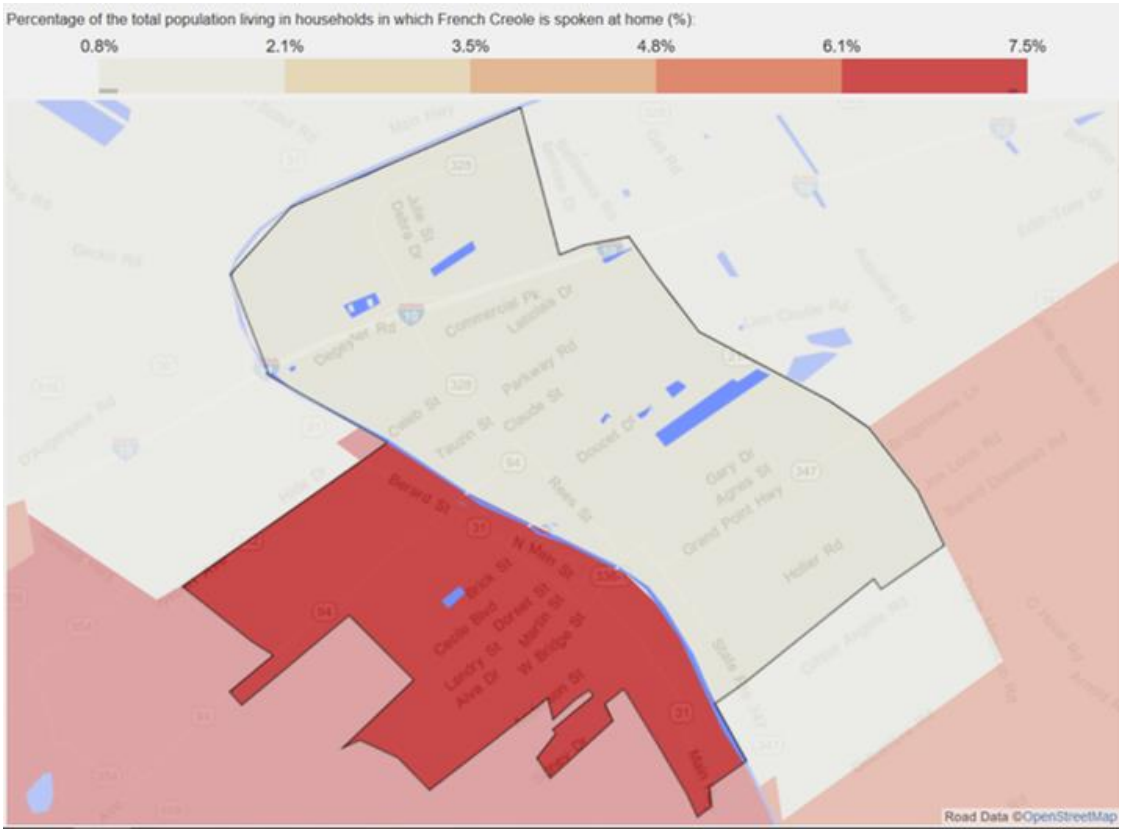

Figure 6. Speakers of 'French Creole' by Census Tract, Breaux Bridge, Louisiana; Data: US Census 2010; Graphics: StatisticalAtlas.com (*https://statisticalatlas.com/place/Louisiana/Breaux-Bridge/Languages*)

2.3.6. Cajunization

> On s'appelait des Créoles avant cette affaire de Cadjin.
> *We called ourselves Creoles before this Cajun business.*
> (Anonymous interviewee in Trépanier 1991:167)

The Civil Rights Era also heralded a new interest in the French language and its potential role as a marker of ethnic identity amongst white francophones, and in this context the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana (CODOFIL) was founded in 1968. CODOFIL emphasized a francophone ethnic identity for Louisiana under the banner of 'Cajun Pride'. This label had until this point been used as a slur to refer to working class, white, French-speaking Louisianans (§2.3.4.2).

Esman (1983, see also Trépanier 1991, Waddell 1979) argues that the founding of CODOFIL and the rise of the Cajun ethnic consciousness was a direct reaction to Civil Rights:

> 'Spontaneous Cajun activities can also be seen as reactions to Civil Rights, attempts by the formerly poor Whites to preserve their only claim to prestige. Influenced by the rhetoric and success of Black Civil Rights, White Cajun ethnic activities were more than imitations: they represent a direct reaction against Black rights.' (Esman 1983:58).

These discourses are evident in first CODOFIL director Jimmy Domengeaux's paper in the *Louisiana Law Review*, which argues that Cajuns should be subject to the same legal protections from discrimination as those outlined in the 1964 Civil Rights Act:

> 'Le titre VII de la loi de 1964 (Civil Rights Act of 1964) avait pour but de supprimer sur les lieux de travail toute discrimination basée sur la race et la lignée [...] un Acadien d'origine peut se prévaloir de la protection de cette loi' (Domengeaux 1986:1194)[21]

The rise of the Cajun identity meant that the term 'Creole' became confined to the sidelines (Waddell 1979:203, cf. Giancarlo 2018). The choice to brand Louisiana and the French language as 'Cajun' over 'Creole' 'can only be interpreted as the desire for the French Louisiana elite to assure for the region a "white" identity' (Trépanier 1991:164), since only Cajun is an exclusively white identity while the original sense of Creole was ethnic rather than racial.

The end result of this process of 'Cajunization' (Trépanier 1991) is that the Creole and Cajun ethnic identities have been essentialized and made congruent with black and white racial labels. Few white people today claim Creole identity (Dubois & Melançon 2000:255), though pockets of Creole-identified white families remain in New Orleans and Avoyelles Parish. Instead, most white white people identify as Cajun, in many cases regardless of whether or not they have Acadian ancestry (Dajko 2012:280). For Creoles of colour today, the 'Creole' identity is a constellation of multiple heritages and ethnic labels, chiefly French, African American, Indigenous and Spanish (Jolivette 2007:42). 'As ethnicity became polarized around race, it appears that language labels shifted as well, to match the new arrangement' (Dajko 2012:290): self-identified Cajuns call their variety 'Cajun French'; those who call themselves 'Creole' call their language 'Creole French'. LC or LF might be described as either of these emic labels, amongst many others (Klingler 2003b). Emic language-naming practices in contemporary Louisiana therefore have everything to do with ethnic and racial identification, and very little to do with linguistic structure (Dajko 2012, Klingler 2003b, Le Menestrel 1999, Spitzer 1977, Tentchoff 1975, Waddell 1979).

2.3.7. *'Nousquenne naissance Creole'*: The Creole Renaissance

> Y ap mèt franse dan lekòl BUT konm ye di twa kreyòl se pa en langaj. Ye di, se jich kichòj — se en DIALECT, se en BROKEN-DOWN FRENCH.
>
> *'They're putting French in schools, but they tell you Creole isn't a language. They say it's just something — it's a 'dialect', it's a 'broken-down French.'* (M2017ML)

While the formal remit of CODOFIL today does include LC, the agency has focused on language planning for French. This reflects the situation on the ground, where LC has been

[21] 'Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has as its goal the abolition all workplace discrimination based on race or descent [...] a native-born Acadian [i.e. Cajun] can invoke the protection of that Act.'

'notoriously absent from discussions about language revitalization in Louisiana' (Valdman 1997:11). A rich literature addresses the renaissance of French and in Louisiana (Brown 1993; Blyth 1997; Sexton 2000; Trépanier 1991; Waddell 1979; see most recently Perkins 2017) but the revitalization of LC is typically only mentioned in passing (e.g. by Jolivette 2007; Klingler 2003a; Valdman 1997). It was not until during my fieldwork in 2017 that CODOFIL's first *Comité créole* was convened. The results of our meetings, which have now ceased, remain to be seen.

The revitalization of LC has been characterized by activities at the grassroots, often in reaction to the Cajunization of Louisiana (§2.3.6). The 'Creole Renaissance' (1960s-1990s) involved the formation of activist groups such as the Un-Cajun Committee and CREOLE, Inc. by Creoles of colour. Writers such as Deborah Clifton (in Arceneaux 1980; Clifton 1999), Ulysses S. Ricard Jr. and Sybil Kein (1981) began to use LC as a creative medium:

> 'Pour longtemps en avait yé qui té apé battre pour encourager et et [*sic*] preserver l'usage du français dans la Louisiane, créole et cajun [...] Mais, où té la littérature créole? [...] Dr. Kein té apé préparer tout un livre de poèsie créole—enfin nousquenne naissance créole!' (Ulysses S. Ricard in Kein 1981:1).[22]

CREOLE, Inc.'s Creole Magazine included Herbert Wiltz's regular column *La Leson Kreyòl* ('The Creole Lesson') as well as an occasional *Creole Linguistics* column (Valdman 1997). Language lessons used to be offered at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette by Deborah Clifton (p.c., January 2017) and in Pointe Coupée by the organization Les Créoles de Pointe Coupée (Klingler 2003a).

Such efforts began to slow at the start of this millennium, and the years since have seen the rise of a group of younger activists who are based online, an initiative spearheaded by language activist Christophe Landry. This movement, so far not discussed in the literature, continues to react to the Cajun label, viewing it at best as historically inaccurate and at worst as white-supremacist. They seek to reclaim the historical meaning of the term Creole (i.e. a native of Louisiana regardless of race, see §2.3.1). The revitalization of LC is an important site for this ideological struggle (cf. Costa 2016), as is evident in the movement's promotion of the glossonym 'Kouri-Vini' over 'Louisiana Creole'. They argue that this avoids the conflation of ethnic and language labels discussed in §2.3.6, and reifies LC as a language in its own right relative to French and other French-lexifier creoles. The activities of this 'Kouri-Vini Movement' are further considered in Chapter 7, which analyzes the language of new speakers of LC in its linguistic and language-ideological dimensions.

[22] 'For so long there were those who were fighting to encourage and preserve the usage of French in Louisiana, Creole and Cajun [...] But, where was the Creole literature? [...] Dr. Kein was preparing a whole book of Creole poetry—finally our very own Creole Renaissance!'

In the winter of 2018, Landry began teaching LC at the *Alliance Française* in Lafayette. These classes represent the first formal integration of online and offline language revitalization activities. These first attempts to bridge the gap between the online community and the historically creolophone communities represent the beginning of a possibly transformative chapter in the history of LC.

2.4. Conclusion

The approach to language change in this thesis, in the vein of work since Thomason & Kaufman (1988) positions sociolinguistic factors as key to understanding the trajectory of language contact and change. This chapter has set the sociolinguistic stage for the analysis in the chapters to follow by identifying several factors which will be important to consider. The sociohistorical facts discussed here have highlighted how language shift in Louisiana deviates from the straightforward decreolization-based approach to language shift as reviewed in §1.2.2.

Klingler (2003a) shows that the genesis of LC is not a perfect fit to the model in Chaudenson (1992): one promising line of inquiry is the application of the Null Theory for creole development recently proposed by Aboh & DeGraff (2016). The Null Theory posits a process of creole formation that involves recursive instances of L1 and L2 acquisition across generations: the target varieties individuals are approximations of the lexifier, approximations of those approximations, approximations of those, etc. (Aboh & DeGraff 2016). As Klingler's account shows, the development of LC probably involved both L1 acquisition (e.g. on the part of children born in Louisiana) and L2 acquisition (on the part of new arrivals to the colony, including enslaved Africans such as the Mina), coalescing into a stable language by the start of the 19th century. The Null Theory stands much to gain from including data from LC, since it is a relatively well-documented case. To lay ground for this work, the present study contributes an account of language change post-creolization – this can be used to disambiguate those linguistic features which were already present at creole formation from those which have been introduced through more recent contact. It will be important to clarify the role of cognitive factors in the Null Theory, since these are only addressed in briefly Aboh & DeGraff (2016). Similarly, it will be worth exploring the language practices of *swampeurs* in the Atchafalaya Basin and those of enslaved people.

The case of the *swampeurs* underscores the importance of regional variation in language contact in LC. TLC was in contact with Acadian French relatively early, and, crucially, Acadians and

their descendants mixed TLC and French. On the other side of the Atchafalaya Basin, working-class and enslaved creolophones remained relatively insulated from this contact with French over the course of the 19th century. White élites who spoke LC were under most pressure to switch to PSF and were the first group to switch to English. Amongst the enslaved, AAE was already exerting significant pressure from below after the mid-1800s right across Louisiana but significant pressure to shift to English would not penetrate rural communities until well after Emancipation.

Emancipation precipitated a process of Americanization which would touch every corner of Louisiana through the imposition of Jim Crow segregation and English-only policies. Rickford (1987:290n17) has noted that studies of decreolization tend to paint an oversimplified picture of Emancipation as a trigger for language shift towards the lexifier. In Louisiana, Emancipation instead foreshadowed an almost total shift towards a non-lexifier language, English. This would only pass the 'linguistic point of no return' (Jones 1998b:5, cf. §1.1.2.3) in the 1920s, with obligatory English-only education and changing linguistic practices of the Catholic church (as outlined in Dubois et al. 2018).

Importantly, after this point of linguistic 'tip', language shift took different trajectories dependent on the segregation of neighbourhoods and schools. The rural white working-class maintained French well into the 20th century. White creolophones were under a more linear pressure to accommodate to French at home. However, crucially, English exerted pressure in all spheres of their public life. Black creolophones also felt considerable pressure to shift to English, but this was tempered by the sparse provisions for their education under Jim Crow. Black creolophones were under less pressure to accommodate to French and, according to the ethnography in Maguire (1987), LC had in an important solidarity function which may have contributed to its maintenance. DeGraff (2005:556) has pointed out that there is a tendency in the decreolization literature to ignore the possibility that creoles may be maintained through their function as a marker of in-group identity. This is despite studies such as Mufwene (1997), which shows that Gullah had an important solidarity function, just as LC did for black creolophones.

The account of language genesis and shift in this chapter therefore merits an approach more complex than the linear, unidirectional model of decreolization would allow. This thesis proceeds on the basis of this understanding of language shift in Louisiana's creolophone communities, tracing the linguistic consequences of language shift in black and white communities on both sides of the

Atchafalaya Basin. The next chapter builds on this background to describe the methodology employed for fieldwork, corpus building and corpus analysis.

Chapter 3. Methodology

3.1. Introduction

Chapter 1 remarked upon the lack of diachronic, data-driven studies of decreolization, an important gap in the literature that this thesis intends to remedy through analysis of two purpose-built corpora. The first of these, the *Louisiana Creole Diachronic Corpus* (LCDC), forms the basis for the analysis in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. Building the LCDC involved digitizing 19th-century texts and 20th-century language documentation, as well as the collection of new field data in 2017 to build a corpus of monologue narratives from OLC, TLC and MLC. The second corpus, the *Louisiana Creole Virtual Classroom Corpus* (LCVCC) comprises a corpus of new speaker data taken from Facebook and is analyzed in Chapter 8. This chapter details the issues involved in creating and analyzing both corpora. This methodology is the first step towards a project currently dubbed *Kokodri* ('alligator', *Ko*leksyon *K*reyòl: *D*ocumentation, *R*evitalization, *I*nvestigation), which will make data in this thesis available in open-access format to other researchers and language activists.

3.2. Louisiana Creole Diachronic Corpus

The LCDC represents LC over a period of two centuries since its stabilization at the beginning of the 19th century (cf. §2.2). Historical data are taken from old texts and language documentation, together they represent LC as it was spoken from the mid-19th century, the early-20th century and the late-20th century (§3.2.1). Contemporary data were collected and transcribed in the field in early 2017 (§3.2.2). The LCDC (summarized in Table 10) consists of:

- Old Louisiana Creole (OLC);
- contemporary Teche variety (TLC);
- Early TLC; and
- contemporary Mississippi variety (MLC) of Vacherie.

The corpus is purpose-built to investigate language contact and change in LC in diachronic perspective. The OLC sample depicts LC before contact with French caused the divergence of TLC. MLC data act as a control, originating in the same area where the OLC sample was collected (§3.2.2.2).

In the analysis, data are accompanied with a citation of the subcorpus (e.g. T2017*xx* where *xx* represents an anonymized speaker identification code). In-text mentions of a specific subcorpus are referenced by source (e.g. Fortier 1895).

Subcorpus	**Source (Year)**	**Genre**	**Variety**	**Avg. Birthyear**	**Speakers**	**Tokens**
FO	Fortier (1895)	Monologue narrative (folklore)	OLC	1824 (estd.)	4	19,712
CN	*contes* in *Méschcacébé* magazine (1876) in Neumann-Holzschuh (1987)			1816 (estd.)	1	7,409
TP	Trappey (1916) in Neumann-Holzschuh (2011)		Early TLC	1840 (estd.)	1	2,901
DU	Durand (1930) in Neumann-Holzschuh (2011)			1860 (estd.)	1	1,754
N85*xx*[23]	Neumann (1985a)	Monologue narrative (sociolinguistic interview)	TLC	1913	4	5,835
T2017*xx*	Field data (2017)			1945	24	59,874
M2017*xx*			MLC	1938	3	7,644

Table 10. Summary of the LCDC.

The LCDC is—to an extent—what McEnery & Hardie (2012) describe as an 'opportunistic' corpus. That is, it attempts to include as much data as reasonably possible, since so few data are available in the first place. At the same time, this does not permit an 'anything goes' approach. On the contrary, it is even more important to assess the reliability and provenance of such data in light of their historical origins and to justify the apparent inclusion of both written and spoken data in the same corpus.

[23] *xx* represents the anonymous code for referring to each speaker in the corpus.

3.2.1. Diachronic data

3.2.1.1. Data processing

Historical texts were digitized in order for them to be made machine-readable.[24] This process began with a simple book scanner using a cardboard box, glass plate and digital camera (following Reetz & Kariluoma 2010; see http://diybookscanner.org/, last accessed December 2018). Images of book pages were processed digitally to optimize machine-readability. These images were then fed into Abbyy FineReader, proprietary software[25] which performs optical character recognition (OCR) with adaptive learning. For texts using French-based spelling, initial text was obtained using OCR models trained on French. For IPA transcriptions, character-by-character recognition was necessary. Both outputs were manually corrected and verification. These texts were then annotated manually in FieldWorks Language Explorer (FleX) to encode part-of-speech and lemma for each token. This process of OCR correction and manual annotation and verification took 2.5 weeks at a rate of 14 slots of 50 minutes of data processing daily. It is hoped that the investment of this time will allow for the development of an automated part-of-speech tagger and lemmatizer for LC data in the future.

3.2.1.2. Reliability, orality and provenance

In this section, I address the problems posed by the inclusion of 19th-century written sources in the LCDC. The LCDC has been designed to ensure that the material it includes is maximally comparable, balanced and representative (Biber et al. 1998, McEnery & Hardie 2012). A corpus which is 'perfect' in these respects is an ideal which linguists 'strive for but rarely, if ever, attain' (McEnery & Hardie 2012:10). As Leech (2007:143-144) emphasizes, corpus linguists 'should seek to define realistically attainable positions on these scales, rather than abandon them altogether' (cf. Koester 2010). This is particularly applicable to diachronic corpora, which are often devised based on whichever materials are available and often include both written and spoken data. Historical sources may also be poorly documented, making it difficult to include sociolinguistic metadata for analysis – this is especially true for endangered languages (McEnery & Ostler 2000). The LCDC includes 19th-century and early-20th-century texts which do not feature explicit descriptions of the

[24] I am grateful to Ingrid Neumann-Holzschuh and Helmut Buske Verlag for their permission to digitize these books. Texts from Fortier are in the public domain and accessible at the Internet Archive (https://archive.org/details/louisianafolkta00fortgoog/, last accessed December 2018).

[25] Open-source alternatives include Tesseract (https://github.com/tesseract-ocr/tesseract), which was used initially but abandoned due to compatibility issues (since rectified).

speakers from whom they were collected. Nevertheless, it has been possible to infer some basic information about individuals (gender, location and a possible birthyear) to inform sociolinguistic analysis.

3.2.1.2.1. *OLC: FO and CN, 19th-century folklore texts*

Alcée Fortier was a grammarian and professor of Romance languages at Tulane University. His *Louisiana Folktales* (1895, FO) constitute the largest sample of OLC in the corpus. These transcriptions of folktales are widely regarded to be the most accurate source on OLC: 'un bon exemple du créole tel qu'il était parlé au siècle dernier'[26] (Neumann 1985a:3). In the appendices to his work, Fortier lists scanty personal details of the people from whom he collected the folktales in the appendices to his study. It has been possible to triangulate and extrapolate from these details to estimate some metadata for each text (Table 11).

The anonymous *contes* from the *Méschcacébé* magazine (in Neumann-Holzschuh 1987, here abbreviated CN) have far scantier details as to their provenance. Gipson (2016) has apparently confirmed the suspicions of Neumann-Holzschuh (1987) and others that these texts were authored by Creole novelist and poet Alfred Mercier. However, Gipson (2016) suggests that these texts are likely Mercier's *translations* from English, and not *transcriptions*. The analysis in this thesis has found no linguistic differences—aside from in orthography—between Fortier's and Mercier's texts. As Mercier, like Fortier, was a native speaker of LC, these texts are taken as authentic examples of OLC. I note, however, that future work should follow up on Gipson's findings. On this basis, I assign Mercier's texts his own birthdate, 1816.

[26] 'a good example of LC as it was spoken at the end of the 19th century.'

Description in Fortier (1895:94ff.)			**Designation in *Louisiana Creole Diachronic Corpus***			
Name	**Age, ethnicity, gender**	**Location**	**Identifier**	**Estd. birthyear**	**Location**	**Texts**[27]
Dorlis Aguillard	'colored man'	'157 Thalia Street, New Orleans'	FO1894DA	c.1818	New Orleans	FO01,02, 03,15,18,1 9,20
Julia	'little negress'	'7 Prytania Street, New Orleans'	FO1894J	c.1830	New Orleans	FO04,05, 07,10,11,2 4,27
None	'old negro'	'at *la Vacherie*, St. James Parish'	FO1894V	c.1810	Vacherie	FO06,08, 12,13,14,16 ,29
None	'old negress'	'77 Esplanade Avenue, New Orleans'	FO1894NO	c.1810	New Orleans	FO17,22,2 3,25
Félicie	'colored woman who had lived for some time in Mexico'	None	FO1894F	c.1830	New Orleans (estd.)	FO21,26
Méranthe	'colored nurse'	Hospital Street, New Orleans	FO1894M	c. 1830	New Orleans	FO09

Table 11. Metadata from Fortier (1895).

Unlike other texts in this corpus, which have been transcribed from recordings by linguists, transcriptions in FO and CN were presumably *post hoc*, i.e. after an interview on the basis of notes and memory. These texts might therefore be regarded as written language, unlike the transcriptions of spoken language which make up the rest of the LCDC. It is, however, unavoidable that diachronic

[27] These are the text identifiers used in the DLC, which are replicated here and cited in-text for the convenience of comparative study. Identifiers FO1894*xx* are cited only where speaker metadata is relevant (e.g. location in Vacherie vs. New Orleans).

corpora such as the LCDC combine samples of both written and spoken language (Leech 2007). Many studies have combined written and spoken data in a single diachronic analysis (e.g. Auger 2002, Guardiano et al. 2016), including for Jamaican Creole (Lalla & D'Costa 1990), Guianan Creole (Wiesinger 2017) and, most recently, in LC by Klingler (2019). FO and CN have been selected (and other potential texts have been excluded §3.2.1.2.4) on the basis that they are as close as possible to oral production.

FO and CN nonetheless present a special challenge for phonological analysis. Unlike the later materials reviewed below, they are not transcribed phonemically or phonetically, but using an *ad hoc* spelling based on that of French. This spelling system is highly variable, and a given word may have multiple spellings even within the same text. The complications this causes corpus searching were largely overcome through lemmatization and use of regular expressions. To study the phonology of LC in Chapter 5 using these texts, an orthographic analysis was performed. While such analysis is not without its shortcomings, spelling variation in corpora can still provide important insights and has been widely applied in studies of creole languages (see Avram 2000, Migge & Mühleisen 2010). First, orthographic practices are socially meaningful, providing insight into language attitudes and identities (see Sebba 2007). Second, spelling variation has been shown to be a useful lens for the study of phonological variation. This approach is taken by e.g. Lalla & D'Costa (1990) for Jamaican Creole and Lodge (2004) in his historical sociolinguistic analysis of Parisian French. Lodge observes that low-status phonological variants, especially those which are most salient, are written with what he terms 'non-conventional' spelling which can be used to examine phonological variation, e.g. his variable for [ĩ] vs. [ɛ̃]: <*vain*> [vɛ̃] vs. <*vin*> [vĩ] 'wine'; <*pain*> [pɛ̃] vs. <*pin*> [pĩ] 'bread' (Lodge 2004: 182-184). The analysis of front vowel rounding in §5.2 therefore utilizes a list of correspondences between spelling and phonology (Table 12).

Roundedness	**Vowel (IPA)**	**19th century Orthographic representations**
Rounded	[y]	<u> in closed syllables
Unrounded	[i]	<i> <y>
Rounded	[ø]	<eu> <e>
Unrounded	[e]	<é> <ez> <er>
Rounded	[œ]	<œ> <oe> <eu>
Unrounded	[ɛ]	<è> <ai> <ei>

Table 12. Orthographic representations of rounded and unrounded vowels in FO, CN, see §5.2.

3.2.1.2.2. *Early TLC: TP and DU, early-20th century language documentation*

Trappey (1916) does not identify his sources at all, though the variety he documents is certainly his local TLC (Neumann-Holzschuh 2011). In some cases, it is possible to deduce some information about the speakers Trappey consulted, placing their birthdates somewhere in the first half of the 19th century, as Neumann-Holzschuh (2011:2) also supposes.[28] I therefore place the speakers' estimated birthdate as 1840.

Durand (1930) identifies a little more information about his sources, though details are scant. He identifies his speakers as 'old' whom he knew growing up. He himself was born in 1891, I therefore place the speakers' estimated birthdate as 1860. Though transcribed in the IPA, the validity of at least some aspects of this transcription are in doubt. Bienvenu (1933), a thesis also undertaken at Louisiana State University, admits to doctoring his transcription to remove front rounded vowels. It is assumed here that the alteration of transcriptions was common practice in theses at that time. If the vowels in these transcriptions were changed, this seriously calls into question the overall reliability of these corpus texts. However the presence of front unrounded vowels is a well-known stereotypical feature of LC (Klingler 2018, Neumann-Holzschuh 1987). The alteration of this highly salient feature does not necessarily imply that other parts of these transcriptions were edited, a claim supported by the presence of variation in the other domains examined by the current study and by Klingler (2018, see §5.2.1 for details). Table 13 shows metadata from both texts.

Speaker ID	**Name**	**Estd. Birthyear**	**Hometown**	**Gender**	**School segregation**
TP	Unknown individuals	c. 1840	Teche region	Unknown	B
DU	Unknown individuals	c. 1860	Teche region	Unknown	B

Table 13. Speaker metadata from Trappey (1916) and Durand (1930).

[28] For example, Trappey (1916) includes a story where the narrator—a woman who calls herself *Man* Frozine—travels to an opera in New Orleans. Adrien Guillory-Chatman (p. c., November 2017) suggests that the opera mentioned in the story may be Puccini's *La fanciulla del West* (1910). Frozine mentions she was 'old' when the story took place. If we assume she was 70 in 1910-1911, this places her birthdate around 1840.

3.2.1.2.3. *TLC: N85, late 20th-century language documentation*

Neumann (1985a) is a thorough description of TLC comprising a morphosyntactic study, lexicon and texts. The texts are narrative extracts from sociolinguistic interviews, transcribed in a system of phonemic notation which can be reliably mapped on to the system of Klingler (1996, 2003a) and the IPA using a basic ruleset (see Table 54, Appendices; Mayeux 2018 is the computational implementation used for the LCDC) allowing for corpus searches to be performed across all data. These texts are consistent in genre with both historical data and the contemporary field data and as well as speaker metadata. Table 14 shows speaker metadata for these texts (these are the only speakers for whom monologue narrative data are available in Neumann 1985a).

Speaker ID	**Name**	**Birthyear**	**Hometown**	**Gender**	**School segregation**
N85BG	Wilson 'Ben Guinée' Mitchell	1906	Parks	M	B
N85JB	Jeffrey Broussard	1918	Cecilia	M	B
N85CC	Carey Charles	1899	Cade	F	B
N85LO	Norine 'Loule' Ozen	1928	Breaux Bridge	F	B

Table 14. Speaker metadata from narrative texts in Neumann (1985a) (N85)

3.2.1.2.4. *Sources not included in the LCDC*

Other sources which could have been include in the corpus include court transcriptions and other 18th-century documents (see Klingler 2003a, §2.2); 19th-century linguistic caricatures (in Neumann-Holzschuh 1987); other 20th-century studies; and ephemera in my personal collection. The inclusion of these materials in the LCDC would confound attempts to control for the genre, quality and quantity of corpus texts. These materials are, however, used to triangulate the corpus analysis. In addition, data from Pointe Coupee MLC are not included in the LCDC. Instead, this variety of MLC has recently been analyzed diachronically by Klingler (2019).

3.2.2. Synchronic corpus data and fieldwork

To collect a contemporary sample of LC for inclusion in the LCDC, I conducted three months of sociolinguistic fieldwork in south Louisiana from January 2017. The objective of this fieldwork was to collect two samples of LC: a large sample of TLC as spoken along the Bayou Teche in St Martin Parish (approx. blue square, Figure 7) and a smaller control sample of the MLC, this collected in

Vacherie, a settlement on the Mississippi River in St James Parish (approx. green square, Figure 7) (cf. §2.2.2.1).

Data collection consisted of recorded sociolinguistic interviews which were later judgement-sampled and transcribed. This format was selected in order to elicit long stretches of narrative monologues comparable in genre to the historical texts, taking advantage of the fact that 'conversations are often interspersed with monological phases' (Himmelman 1998:181, cf. Adamou 2016:211).

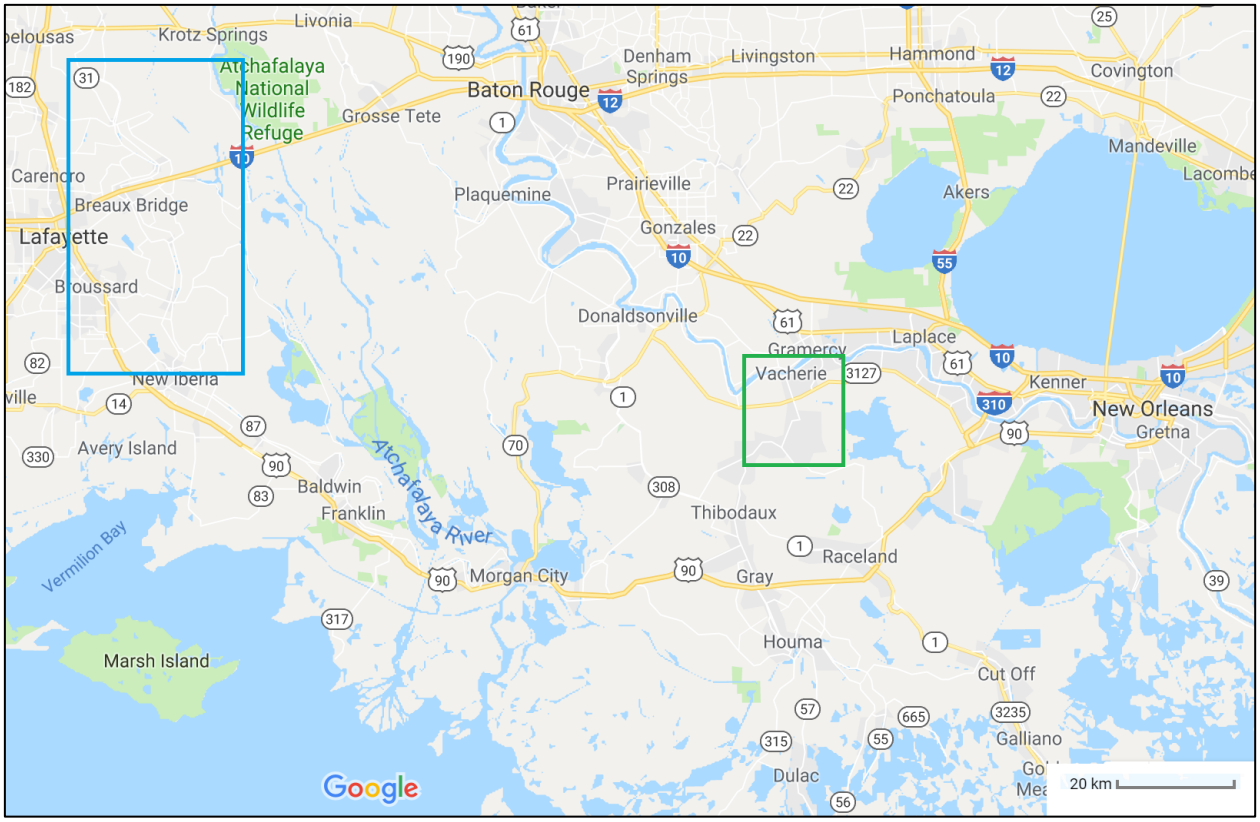

Figure 7. Map of southwest Louisiana showing fieldsites relative to the large cities of New Orleans, Baton Rouge and Lafayette. Bayou Teche fieldsite in blue square (cf. *Figure 8*)*, Vacherie fieldsite in green square* (cf. *Figure 9*)*. Map data © 2019 Google, Inc.*

3.2.2.1. TLC sample: Bayou Teche, St Martin Parish

The TLC sample was collected from speakers raised in towns along the Bayou Teche (for a history of the region, see §2.2.2.2 and Bernard 2016). These settlements—roughly 11 kilometres apart—fall within St Martin Parish and are connected to each other by road. Data were collected from speakers native to the settlements in St Martin Parish (Table 15, Figure 8), with the exception of Catahoula which appears in many ways exceptional (see §2.2.2.2.1).

Settlement	Population	French/LC speakers[29]	Race		
			White	Black	Other[30]
Cecilia	1,902	24.4%	67.0%	33.0%	0.0%
Henderson	1,885	20.2%	71.5%	8.6%	19.9%
Breaux Bridge	8,291	17.9%	55.4%	42.0%	2.6%
St. Martinville	6,058	11.3%	28.3%	64.3%	7.4%
Parks	831	16.5%	62.1%	37.9%	0.0%

Table 15. Historically-creolophone settlements along the Bayou Teche (cf. *Figure 8*). *Data from American Communities Survey* (*United States Census Bureau 2017*).

I was hosted by NUNU Arts and Culture Collective in Arnaudville, a town just north of Cecilia which is at the centre of linguistic and cultural activism in the region. My association with NUNU gave me a fieldbase for my work, as well as a network to draw on in finding potential interviewees. Members of Latab Kreyol ('Creole Table') and CREOLE, Inc. provided invaluable support to my

[29] The actual United States Census Bureau (2017) designation is 'Indo-European language other than English [and Spanish]', thus there is a small margin of error here where exceptional cases may be counted (e.g. speakers of Portuguese). Note also these data are self-report and thus suffer from the problems described in §2.3.6.

[30] Including Native American, Asian and Latino.

research, welcoming me into their meetings, communities and homes to discuss my research and conduct interviews.

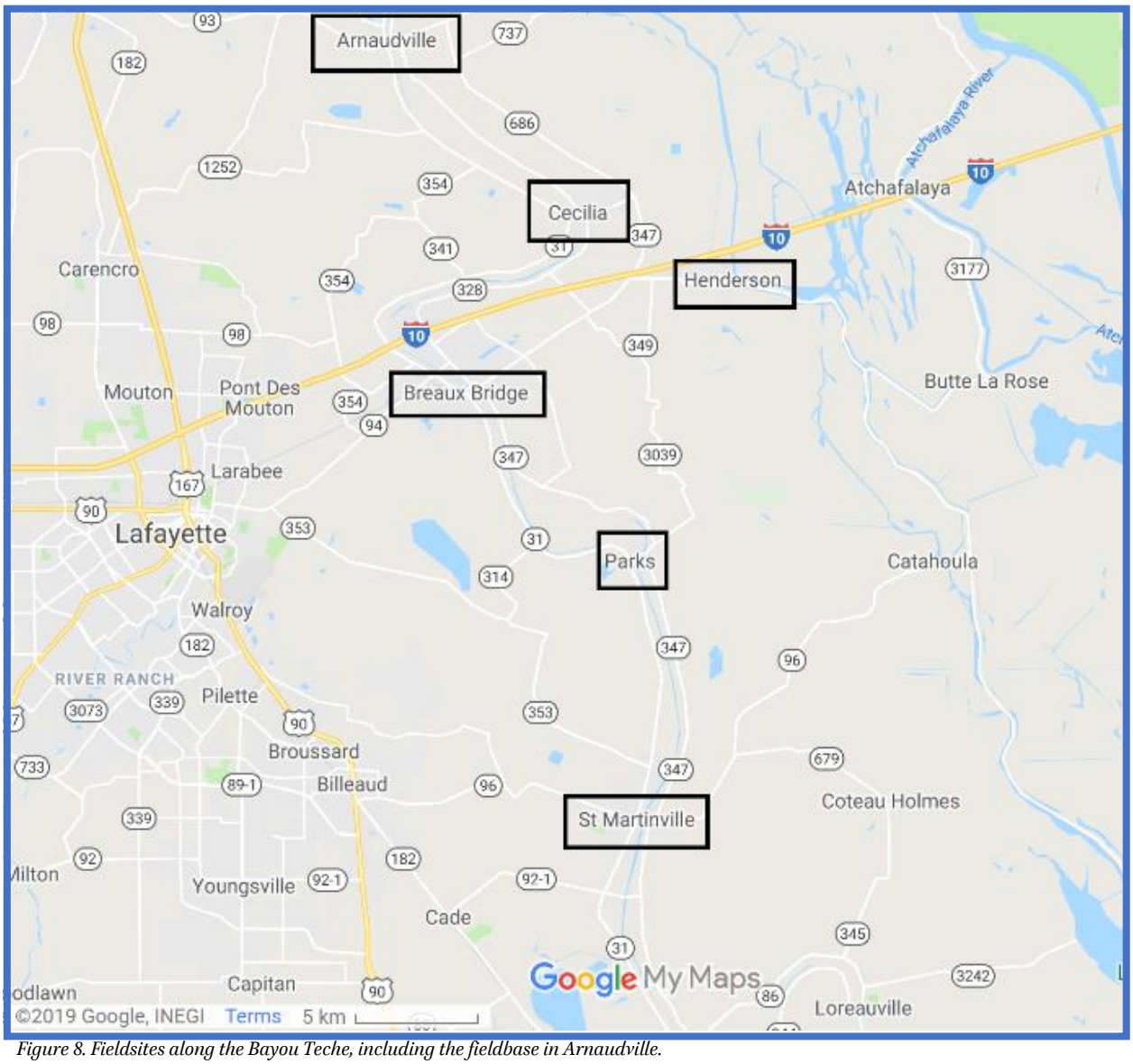

Figure 8. Fieldsites along the Bayou Teche, including the fieldbase in Arnaudville.
Map data © 2019 Google, Inc.

It still holds true that 'it is in the Teche region that the most numerous and, on average, the youngest LC speakers are to be found' (Klingler & Dajko 2006). A decade since Klingler & Dajko's remarks, it is clear that LC will disappear even here once this 'youngest' generation of creolophone sexagenarians passes on, barring some drastic imminent action. Despite the optimistic cultural scene, there are still important obstacles to language revitalization. While LC is spoken by both black and white people, there is an undeniable racial divide in attitudes towards the language. White creolophones mostly attend events for French revitalization and it was amongst this population that

I found evidence of mostly negative attitudes towards LC; in my estimation, it is Creoles of colour who most strongly identify with LC and who have taken up the mantle of language guardianship (cf. Dubois & Melançon 2000, Klingler 2003a:xxxii). A raft of social problems, including poverty, poor public health, gun violence and opioid abuse mean that language revitalization is not seen as a priority for community action. While poverty features in the lives of many rural Louisianans regardless of race, it disproportionately affects communities of colour (cf. §2.3.5) where more positive attitudes suggest most potential for language revitalization. As one interviewee in Parks pointed out, language revitalization efforts might be seen as more worthwhile amongst the population at large, and especially amongst the youth, if they incorporated some kind of social action (e.g. youth clubs). I found that many older creolophones characterized the youth as being lost to a new, American way of life where the loss of language was only symptomatic of a wider disconnect between the older generation's Creole traditions and the youth's more American orientation. In all, I was repeatedly given the impression that, if language revitalization could offer little more than language itself, it would be of little use. 'We have bigger problems to deal with', was a running theme when asking about language revitalization.

Any language revitalization movement in the Teche region—probably the only region where revitalization of LC might be at all possible—will need to confront the social issues mentioned above. There are early signs that language activists are beginning to bridge the gap between the online language revitalization movement and creolophone communities on the ground (Chapter 7), though the shape this movement will take is yet to be determined.

3.2.2.2. MLC sample: Vacherie, St James Parish

As mentioned in §3.2 (cf. §2.2.2.1), Vacherie MLC was selected as a control sample due to the fact that it has had less contact with French than TLC. Furthermore, Fortier—whose data makes up the bulk of the OLC data in the LCDC (§3.2.1.2.1)—was born and raised on Le Petit Versailles, a wealthy plantation which once stood at Vacherie and at least some of his data were collected nearby. This ensured maximum comparability between the OLC data and the contemporary MLC sample. The variety of LC spoken in Vacherie has not been documented since Marshall (1982) and an audiovisual recording by Klingler (1996). It was therefore important to survey the vitality of this variety and make recordings of its last speakers.

Vacherie (Figure 9) is a community of around 6,000 people in St James Parish. Front Vacherie—the side facing the Mississippi River—was once the site of a number of large plantations; today some of these are popular tourist attractions, and Front Vacherie is more commercialized, affluent and anglophone. Most creolophones today are found *ann Dèryèr* ('in the Back'): Back Vacherie is populated mostly by former sharecroppers and their descendants and is remarkably less segregated than most of the communities in the Teche region. According to interviews I conducted, children would return from the two segregated schools and play together. LC was the language used by these children; today, as adults, many still speak it together.

In Vacherie I was hosted by Jay Schexnaydre, a genealogist and historian at Laura Plantation, and also by historian, tour guide, native LC-speaker and all-round polymath Colin Gravois. Schexnaydre and Gravois provided invaluable assistance, organising a programme of interviews for me for a few days at a time. These interviews were with members of Gravois's Creole Committee, a small group of friends who would get together monthly for gumbo and LC conversation at Gravois's home. Outside of these organized interviews, Gravois and I whiled away the hours *ape galòpe chmen-ye avèk tòpdòwn* ('running the roads in [his] convertible'), stopping to talk with most everyone we came across, asking them whether they or anyone they knew spoke Creole. While we *rodaye* ('drove around stopping to talk to people'), we conducted further recordings, though many of these have been excluded from the LDCD.

Figure 9. Fieldsite at Back Vacherie (official designation 'South Vacherie') in red, with Front Vacherie and the Mississippi River to the North.

Map data © 2019 Google, Inc.

We were able to find far fewer creolophones than I had initially anticipated and the decline of LC appears much further advanced than along the Teche. Vacherie is relatively isolated, and not part of any large network of language activism or revitalization. Poor public health, pollution and poverty contribute not only to the migration of young people out of this area but also to a lower life expectancy. Vacherie is situated within Louisiana's infamous 'Cancer Alley' [31] (see Allen 2003, Hochschild 2016), which may explain why I met fewer elderly creolophones there than in the Teche region. Although all interviewees expressed positive sentiments towards revitalization, there are no organized efforts to this end and the consensus seems to be that language is a low priority relative to the very immediate threats from pollution and poverty.

3.2.2.3. Data collection strategy

Documentary linguists accept the reality of 'opportunistic' data collection (Woodbury 2003, cf. 'opportunistic corpora', McEnery & Hardie 2012). Where only few speakers remain, it is better to collect whatever (potentially unbalanced) data remain than none at all. However, as Cox (2015:118), notes, this approach appears to be at odds with traditional corpus-linguistic and quantitative-sociolinguistic methodologies, where balance for data analysis is traditionally sought by sampling evenly from *a priori* demographic categories (e.g. age, gender, class, etc.). Totally opportunistic data collection risks an unbalanced corpus that is biased towards the variety of whichever particular demographic is most accessible, e.g. towards that of the NORMs ('non-mobile rural males') who have typically been the focus in dialectology (Chambers & Trudgill 1980:29). As Adamou (2016:12) concedes, this may be the only course of action: 'researchers can only obtain the data that it is possible to obtain in a given community at a given time.' It is true that it may be challenging for a corpus-builder to collect ideally balanced data in a language endangerment context. However, Cox (2015:118f.) argues that it is possible to take a 'mediating approach' between the opportunistic approach of language documentation (which may not result in balanced data for corpus-linguistic purposes) and a more structured approach (which may not be feasible in endangerment contexts). Like other obsolescence studies (e.g. Jones 1998b, 2015), Cox employs the 'friend-of-a-friend' sampling technique (Milroy 1987) to explore a number of social networks of speakers. Additionally,

[31] According to the Environmental Protection Agency's National Air Toxics Assessment 2015, the lifetime risk of cancer from air pollution in St James and neighbouring St John the Baptist Parishes is 200-400 times the national average, rising to 800 times that in some areas (Lerner 2017; see 2014 National Air Toxics Assessment Map https://gispub.epa.gov/NATA/).

by participating in community events with attendees from throughout the region, Cox was able to make new contacts at the periphery of or outside of immediate social networks, thus to some extent mitigating against any bias towards those initial local social networks. As Cox concedes (2015:119), this methodology is still opportunistic to an extent; however, it still is a more robust approach than one which relies purely on the fieldworker's ability to track down speakers single-handedly, and also increases the number of speakers included in the corpus. This is the approach that I took to data collection during my fieldwork, collaborating with community organizations, language activists and local community leaders to facilitate my access to creolophones from as diverse demographics as possible.

Nevertheless, much of my fieldwork was truly opportunistic: I took any chance I could to record LC 'on-the-fly', taking my recording device with me everywhere. As Dajko (2009) writes in her detailed account of her fieldwork in south Louisiana, chance encounters often led me to fruitful interview opportunities. Sometimes, however, such interviews were not suitable for inclusion in the LCDC. At the Mardi Gras Whip in Parks, I conducted a number of short interviews with small groups of people who had returned to Parks from Texas for the occasion. Loud zydeco music being played outside resulted in recordings which are unanalyzable. Further, it is not clear to what extent East Texan LC is a divergent variety of TLC (Wendte 2018a) and including this variety would have presented a confound to data analysis. In another example, in Reserve (near Vacherie) one recording was conducted when Colin Gravois and I helped a family install their new air conditioning unit. While we communicated mostly in LC, the genre of this exchange—composed mostly of commands and banter between multiple speakers of varying competencies—is too unlike the narratives contained in the LCDC. Including a recording from another town near Vacherie would have introduced a confounding factor into this control sample. I also inevitably ended up interviewing a number of people whose variety they (or their neighbours) identified as LC, though linguistically it was unambiguously LF (cf. §2.3.6). These interviews, also not included in the LCDC, contributed valuable metalinguistic and linguistic insights.

3.2.2.4. Ethics and positionality

This study was carried out in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the University Research Ethics Committee, University of Cambridge. Potential interviewees were informed as to the purposes of my study, how their data would be used, gave verbal consent and signed a paper consent

form in English which I summarized aloud in LC. Conversations occasionally turned to upsetting, private or otherwise sensitive topics. Although full consent was granted for their usage, I have decided not to include such extracts in the corpus nor in this document.

Aware that many of my participants were elderly and sometimes frail and ill, I had to remain mindful of the potentially strenuous interview process on their own wellbeing. This mostly impacted speakers' ability to perform elicitation (§3.2.2.5), and sometimes meant that interviews had to be cut short or discarded (cf. §3.2.2). Sometimes interviews would have to be rearranged due to hospital appointments or canceled due to ill health, and in one case due to the death of the gentleman who had volunteered to participate. One very elderly lady volunteered to participate with great enthusiasm, only to request that I hold her hand for the full interview so that she would be able to keep her strength.

Aside from this physical fatigue, I also encountered research fatigue (cf. Sallabank 2013:211). Though most creolophones are by now used to academics' questions and recording devices, several interviewees intimated their weariness about researchers' visits, questionnaires and inflexible schedules. There was also a general sense that academics tend to be of the 'fly-in-fly-out' sort (cf. Simpson 2007). At least two potential interviewees explicitly communicated this to me and declined to participate in my study; this sentiment surely underlay a certain reticence I encountered at the beginning of my time in the field. Such reactions led Fiedler (2006) to abandon her study of LC and work instead on LF. She recalls:

> 'I asked [a contact] if she could suggest any Creole informants who may be interested in participating in my research. [...] She refused to name anyone because they are "tired of being bothered and researched" as if they were something strange that needed to be analyzed'
>
> (Fiedler 2006:24)

Nevertheless, once I had become a 'familiar face' at community events, many people who had initial misgivings would eventually call me up and ask to take part. I was also able to avoid the negative stereotypes surrounding academics by emphasizing my own Louisiana roots and framing my fieldtrip as but one of many visits with my family. Indeed, once people asked for my family name they welcomed me as 'one of their own' or even a 'long-lost cousin'.[32] I thus, inevitably, assumed the

[32] Our family's roots are in Avoyelles Parish, where Mayeux is a common French Creole name. The Louisiana definition of family, as in Latin America and the Caribbean, is much wider than in Anglo-American society: distant relatives are

role of 'insider-outsider' (cf. Clifton 2009), a role tempered by my age (I had just turned 24). I was seen by most people as a young person trying to learn more about their own heritage, rather than as an academic researcher in any formal sense. Interviews thus became a dialogue between an 'elder' and a 'student' or 'young person', somewhat abating the power imbalance inherent to the interview context by positioning the interviewee as the authority. Elders in Louisiana are typically valued for their stories and life experience, encouraging uninterrupted narrative ideal for a corpus study.

There was, otherwise, a long list of things that made me strange in the eyes of my interviewees, including my clothes ('too pink'), my car ('too small'), my accent in English ('too weird') and of course the fact that despite my youth I spoke LC *pròch konm nouzòt* ('nearly like us', M2017MN). Most of all, when conducting interviews in black communities, my whiteness was very present and I was clearly marked as an outsider. In an illustrative anecdote, during one interview on a porch in Promiseland, Parks, a neighbour stopped her car to get out and ask: 'what's the little white boy doing here?!' It has been important throughout this research for me to remain mindful of my position as a white researcher (see §2.3.1, where I discuss the construct of race in this work).

In all, though linguists have tended to neglect discussing their own position relative to the communities in which they work, it is important to clarify this especially because of the imbalances in power that are inherent to work in endangered-language communities (Sallabank 2013:xi). After all, there is 'no "view from nowhere", no gaze that is not positioned' (Irvine and Gal 2000:36), no 'neutral ground' (Dorian 1993) when it comes to the position of minoritized communities and their languages (cf. Piller 2016, Romaine 2008). Though I would shy away from calling myself an activist, I realize that I have now been involved in LC revitalization since my late teens and this experience inevitably informs my academic work.

3.2.2.5. Sociolinguistic interviews

Data were collected through sociolinguistic interviews conducted in an informal setting, typically lasting 1-2 hours although I would typically spend at least half the day with each interviewee, usually because they invited me for a meal. I set out for the field with a carefully-prepared list of sociolinguistic interview questions, though I soon realized that having too much paperwork present at all during the interview produced a stilted, unnatural atmosphere. Instead, I framed the

valued as 'cousins', which may even extend to people who share the same family name or (quite distant or perhaps imagined) branches of the same family tree.

interviews simply as *fe vizit pou parle kreyòl* ('getting together to speak Creole') and would resort to this (memorized) list of questions in the rare case that it was necessary to try to provoke conversation. One advantage when conducting sociolinguistic fieldwork in Louisiana is that storytelling is a much-loved pastime. As other researchers (e.g. Ancelet 1994, Dajko 2009) have noted, asking whether someone has any good *kont* ('stories') is usually enough to prompt long stretches of narrative. This, coupled with my role as a young person coming home to learn about their own heritage (§3.2.2.4), meant that it was not difficult to elicit the kind of data intended for the LCDC.

My initial intention was to conduct monolingual fieldwork, speaking LC inside and outside of interviews as far as possible (see Everett 2001). This had a quite unintended effect of marking me as unusual, not only because of my age (cf. §3.2.2.4), but most of all because I did not switch between LC and English, as is the norm for LC speakers. This was at odds with the objective of the sociolinguistic interviews (from my perspective as a researcher), namely to capture spoken LC. This objective is certainly commensurate with the aims of corpus-based research, but might be viewed as inherently biased towards the collection of monolingual LC data and therefore failing to account for the (arguably more naturalistic) bilingual English-LC data. This bias was indeed evident in my framing of interviews as a conversation in LC, which clearly produced a subtle expectation to speak exclusively in LC.

During the interviews, I was faced with a dilemma when encountering extended switches into English. On one hand, I could choose to accommodate to the speaker and give feedback in English. While this might have been the path of least conversational resistance, it would have risked the interview switching totally to English, which would have been at odds with my objective to collect a large sample of LC. Attempts at such a strategy had the side-effect of drawing attention to the interviewee's switch to English, causing occasional confusion ('wait, aren't we supposed to speaking Creole?') and discomfort ('I'm sorry, I switched to English'). On the other hand, I had the choice to engage in what Kim (2018:39-40) has termed 'code management', whereby the researcher's strict adherence to the monolingual mode serves to direct conversations away from extended switches to the dominant language. In practice, this would have meant giving feedback and asking follow-up questions in LC even where the usage of such a language might have represented a somewhat jarring divergence from the interviewee's ongoing switch into English. This code management also risked producing negative reactions if the divergence was salient enough, since my stubborn use of LC would undoubtedly contrast with speakers' multilingual discourse. As Kim (2018) mentions, this

raises a potential shortcoming of the monolingual approach to linguistic fieldwork, which arguably is biased towards the collection of monolingual data in what is really a multilingual context and thus to some extent non-naturalistic.

In practice, I took something of a middle-of-the-road approach to this problem, prioritizing empathy and patience over a need to collect 'as much LC as possible' during a given interview session. This meant that I did engage in a form of subtle code management, though allowing the interviewee to take the lead role in the interview setting and never pushing them to speak LC when doing so seemed uncomfortable. As part of this strategy, I would sometimes interject in English, include single-word insertions from English and occasionally ask a follow-up question in English followed by an LC rendering. Such usage of English was heavily tailored to the individual interview context and the reaction of the interviewee in question. Though I cannot claim such a strategy was entirely consistent or without fault, I believe it provided me with the most naturalistic and flexible response to English-LC code-switching during interviews. Two contrasting anecdotes exemplify the success of this strategy. One interview proceeded entirely in English for around 60 minutes despite my (not-very-subtle) attempts at code management. I had almost given up hope when the speaker began a gradual switch to monolingual LC. Here, waiting for trust to be established between interviewer and interviewee was necessary to produce the desired outcome. Another interview proceeded entirely in LC for 90 minutes or so before the interviewee made an extended switch in English as an aside to a passer-by. Realizing her switch into English, she apologized immediately to me, whom she had apparently taken to be a monolingual LC speaker! In that case, my own usage of LC clearly facilitated an environment where the speaker in question was encouraged to use LC. My observations were commensurate with those of Kim in that code management, judiciously applied, was found to 'indirectly [aid] successful and rich data collection' (2018:40).

Translation-based elicitation tasks were also planned for the end of each sociolinguistic interview in order to ensure that at least one token was present for each speaker for each variable analyzed in this thesis. Elicitation was met with limited success, however, and proved much slower and more difficult than anticipated. Since many speakers were elderly and of varying degrees of frailness, the promise of further questions after an hour-long interview often proved daunting to the interviewee; my utmost concern was the comfort of the person I was interviewing and I terminated elicitation sessions prematurely where it would have felt unkind to continue (cf. §3.2.2.4). Interviewees' discomfort was compounded by the fact that I had a printed sheet of paper and a pen

and was asking them for their own judgements, a context interpreted as a test by many and accompanied by nonverbal signs of anxiety and answers which were obviously negatively impacted by a fear that I was 'testing' their LC ability, an example of the linguistic insecurity observed amongst speakers of marginalized varieties (Labov 1966, Macaulay 1975, Fishman 1991, cf. Polinsky 2018:347). Although some people were so enthusiastic about elicitation that they called me for days after our interview to ask for more 'Creole quiz questions', the majority of elicitation sessions were met with a mixture of reticence, uncertainty and nervousness that limited their usefulness to the current research.

3.2.2.6. Corpus building using sociolinguistic interview data

Recordings of sociolinguistic interviews were judgement-sampled, which involved selecting and transcribing suitable recordings from the c. 50 hours of field data. In the Teche region, I made roughly hour-long recordings with 41 people. Several recordings were deemed unacceptable due to background noise, speaker fatigue (cf. §3.2.2.4), genre (e.g. some speakers agreed to be interviewed in a group and the data were too conversational) and to avoid over-representing speakers from certain demographics. This process left a sample of 24 speakers. In Vacherie, I interviewed nine people for roughly one hour each. Of these, only three speakers are included in the LCDC. Of the other interviews, two were conducted with 'rememberers' (Campbell & Muntzel 1989) who had only a few words of LC, two were conducted with LF monolinguals and three were deemed inappropriate for inclusion in the corpus due to their genre.

Within each suitable recording, I identified a contiguous stretch of interrupted monologue narrative for transcription. Transcription was performed in plaintext, using the notation for LC proposed by Klingler (1996, 2003a).[33] Biber (1993) finds that the most common linguistic features (e.g. personal pronouns, contractions, past and present tense forms, negation, etc.) are relatively stable across 1,000-word samples. Transcriptions were therefore performed to an approximate average length of 2500 words per speaker (T2017 = 59,874, avg. 2495/speaker; M2017 = 7644, 2548/speaker) to ensure a sufficiently large and balanced sample. Speakers included in the LDCD are shown in Table 16.

[33] Time-aligned transcriptions are left for further work; the intention here was to build a corpus of text which was as large as possible and could be analyzed with written sources.

ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-RF	TLC
LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-RF	Vacherie MLC
MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC

Table 16. Speaker metadata for field recordings selected for the LCDC.

It is important to outline the criteria used for distinguishing between LC and LF in transcription, since some speakers have competence in both and mix both languages in discourse (see Chapter 6). Three criteria for distinguishing LF and LC are outlined by Klingler (2003b; Table 17), which are operationalized for the purposes of transcription and morphosyntactic/phonological analysis. These proved useful for switches between LF and LC across clause boundaries (i.e. 'alternations', Muysken 2000; see Chapter 6): clauses containing one or more LC variant were transcribed as LC where there were zero LF variants present. Where such clauses contained one or more LF variants, the clause was marked as mixed and not included in the analysis of LC data. Such clauses are discussed in Chapter 6, where it is shown that defining the hard-and-fast line between LC and LF remains an unsolved—possibly unsolvable—problem. Transcriptions were performed using the system proposed by Klingler (1992, 1996, 2003a; cf. Table 54, Appendices), which is also used in the *Dictionary of Louisiana Creole* (DLC; Valdman et al. 1998). In this thesis, English and French stretches are transcribed orthographically in capital letters. Where necessary, lexical items are cross-referenced with the DLC, *Dictionary of Louisiana French* (DLF; Valdman et al. 2010), *Dictionnaire*

étymologique des créoles français d'Amérique (DECA; Bollée et al. 2017, 2018). Glosses follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

Variable	**LC variants**	**LF variants**
1st sg. subject pronoun	/mo/, /mwɛ̃/, /m/	/ʒ(ə)/, /ʃ(ə)/
Perfect tense	Bare verb	Aux. + past participle
Verb 'to have'	/gɛ̃/	Forms of verb /awar/ ('avoir')

Table 17. Three linguistic variables which have strong associations with LF and LC (from Klingler 2003b:80 with slight adaptation)

3.2.3. Data analysis and quantitative methods

Diachronic and synchronic data were compiled as the LCDC using SketchEngine (Kilgarriff et al. 2014), which was also used to perform concordance searches and frequency counts. All texts in the corpus contain XML structures encoding sociolinguistic metadata in Table 16 for quantitative analysis.

Data were explored in the open-source programming language R (R Core Team 2019) using *ctree* (Hothorn et al. 2006) to build conditional inference trees (cf. Adamou 2016, Adamou et al. 2016) and *lme4* (Bates et al. 2015) to perform mixed-effects logistic regressions. The regressions presented here were modelled in Rbrul (Johnson 2009), designed as a successor to VARBRUL (Cedergren & Sankoff 1974) and Goldvarb (Sankoff et al. 2005) and currently widely used in sociolinguistic analysis. The decision to perform analyses in Rbrul and present results in that format is taken here in order to make the results of this study consistent with contemporary and earlier research (cf. Tagliamonte 2012:156).

One important way in which Rbrul deviates from its predecessors is in its ability to incorporate random effects into its models. Given their numerous advantages, and despite recent cautions (see e.g. Eager & Roy 2017), mixed-effects modelling look set to remain as the gold-standard across many disciplines of linguistics, including corpus linguistics (Gries 2015) and variationist sociolinguistics (Johnson 2009). Models that do not include random effects to account for speaker-level variation risk overestimating the significance of sociolinguistic and linguistic factors in conditioning the usage of given variable, and may be skewed by outlier speakers who display idiosyncratic usage of a given variable compared to the rest of the sample. Including a random effect for speaker can help control

for skew by accounting for differing amounts of data per speaker, as well as idiosyncratic usage of variables which may differ from the overall sample. Thus, independent (i.e. sociolinguistic) variables will only be selected as significant predictors in a mixed-effects model 'when they are strong enough to rise above the inter-speaker variation' (Johnson 2009: 365). This consideration is highly relevant to studies of language obsolescence, given the presence of 'personal-pattern variation' (Dorian 1994:635) and rusty/semi-speakers whose language is highly variable (see §1.1.1.3).

Another difference between Rbrul and its predecessors is its ability to output results despite the presence of so-called *knockouts*, factors with a categorical relationship to a given variable such that they are invariant (i.e. occur 100% or 0% of the time). Traditionally, variationists would refine their regression model to avoid knockouts by e.g. collapsing a given factor into another or removing it entirely from the analysis, a practice related to GoldVarb's computational shortcomings (since it produces errors when knockouts are included; Johnson 2009). However, Rbrul (in common with regression packages in *R*) can handle knockouts. I have opted here to include in the Appendices all regressions performed on all variables, even where there is a clear categorical distribution between that variable and a given factor. I do so in the interests of making all stages of my analyses transparent and consistent between variables. To ensure that all variables—including knockouts—were properly tested for significance, Mann-Whitney *U* tests were performed in all cases (see Lijffijt et al. 2016 for the advantages of this test for corpus data).

Sociolinguistic research in endangered-language communities often must deal with datasets which are less-than-ideal, i.e. the sample may be small and unbalanced relative to an ideal population (which may no longer exist, or which may be impossible for the linguist to access). Blainey (2017: 588), based on her work in Louisiana, states that 'while mixed-effects models may be the ideal analytical tool for variationist sociolinguistic analysis, research involving endangered varieties of Western languages may not be in a position to use them', noting that fieldwork on such languages often does not yield a high number of tokens. Though this is certainly an important point, 'how many tokens is enough is not a straightforward question' (Tagliamonte 2012: 136). As a general rule, fewer than 10 tokens per cell results in a high likelihood of random fluctuation, but with numbers greater than 10 there is 90% conformity to the predicted norm, rising to 100% with 35 tokens (Tagliamonte 2012: 136). In this analysis, logistic regressions on the 2017 data treated a total of 10,041 tokens from 27 speakers, with a mean of 23.24 tokens per speaker across all variables in the corpus.

The cutoff for statistical significance throughout this thesis is set at $\alpha = .05$ as is common practice in linguistics (Baron et al. 2009, Oakes 1998). There was no need to adjust α using e.g. Bonferroni corrections as each test stands on its own and constitutes a planned comparison (cf. Rothman 1990).

3.3. Louisiana Creole Virtual Classroom Corpus

The LCVCC is a purpose-built corpus of data from the *Louisiana Creole Virtual Classroom* (LCVC), a Facebook community made up of learners and 'new speakers' of LC. These data, analyzed in Chapter 7, comprise a sample of what is here dubbed '*Neo*-Louisiana Creole' (NLC, cf. NeSmith 2002 on Neo-Hawai'ian). NLC forms a further point-of-comparison in the diachronic investigation of decreolization. From a theoretical perspective, since learners of LC all speak English as their L1, NLC offers a 'laboratory-like' sample of LC in intensive contact with English without any influence of French. From a descriptive perspective, NLC may be the sole incarnation of LC to be maintained over the next few decades. NLC therefore represents an interesting variety for analysis. Given the lack of similar studies, Chapter 7 has necessitated the adoption of a novel methodology for corpus building and analysis, detailed here.

3.3.1. Ethics

Language data were extracted when the LCVC was an 'open' Facebook group, meaning content of the group is visible to the public. Despite this, it is clear that the members of the LCVC feel that they are part of a community. Some conversations in the group addressed topics which might be considered sensitive, e.g. family matters, gossip, prayers. Therefore, while the data analyzed in Chapter 7 are publicly accessible, care was taken to respect the privacy of the group within its own context (see Nissenbaum 2010; cf. Eckert et al. 2013). The group was informed about the research and members were given the opportunity to decline having their data included in the corpus. All data were assigned anonymized identification numbers, and names were removed.

3.3.2. Building the corpus

I wrote a script in Python 2.7 (Python Software Foundation, http://www.python.org) to access the Facebook Application Program Interface (API), download the necessary data (Table 18), anonymize them, store them in a Comma Separated Values (.csv) file and prepare them for quantitative analysis (§3.3.3). The data were then manually cleaned. All non-LC sentences were removed. Much interaction in the LCVC involves corrections, classroom drills, example sentences or extracts of LC

songs and folktales. These kinds of non-spontaneous language data cannot be considered as learner language production (Selinker 1972) and were removed.

For each post:

- **Post content**
- Anonymous poster identification code
- Post date
- Post identification number
- Comments

For each comment:

- **Comment content**
- Anonymous commenter identification code
- Comment date
- Comment identification number

Table 18. Model code extract showing data downloaded from Facebook.

20,322 posts and comments written by 411 group members were obtained, totalling 54,970 tokens. The LCVCC was then divided into subcorpora (Table 19) in order to examine how the language of new speakers has stabilized over time and the role of the teacher in shaping in their production.

Two subcorpora were created as snapshots of language usage in the LCVC at two points in time: when the community was being formed (2012) and when it was well-established (2015; see Table 19). The language in each of these subcorpora can be compared to examine the overall cohesiveness of the sample and whether norms have emerged gradually over time, or whether the morphosyntax of NLC has remained more or less constant over these three years.

A further subcorpus (Table 19) was created to analyze the language usage of the LCVC's teacher, Christophe Landry (see §7.2). The first objective of the examination of the teacher's language is to control for any skew in the LCVCC resulting from the disproportionately large quantity of data contributed by the teacher (15% of tokens). This subcorpus is also compared with a subcorpus containing only NS production (Table 19) to analyze whether a language revitalization figurehead can impact on language usage.

Objective	Subcorpus sample	Tokens
Role of teacher	Teacher data only	7,551
	New speaker data only	47,419
Stabilization over time	Sample from 2012	5,852
	Sample from 2015	7,490
New speaker norms	Full corpus	54,970

Table 19. Subcorpora analyzed in this study, with descriptions and token counts.

3.3.3. Quantitative analysis

The LCVCC can only be very spuriously linked to the 'offline' LC speech communities analyzed in the LCDC (§7.2); considering these two groups as part of the same population in a statistical model artificially overstates the presence of NLC in Louisiana's creolophone communities. Therefore, direct statistical comparison of NLC and other LC varieties will only be possible if one day the two social networks become more tightly integrated, and NS can be considered part of the speech community. Thus, rather than the variationist-inspired approach employed elsewhere in this thesis, the analysis of NLC will draw on corpus-linguistic quantitative methods to examine the distribution of linguistic variables in the sample of NLC as a whole, with the LCVC taken as a community converging on a common linguistic practice (see §7.2).

Basic inferential statistics are employed to determine whether there is a statistically significant difference in frequency between the two forms of each variable. Pearson's chi-squared (χ^2) test is an inferential statistical test widely employed in corpus linguistics (Baron et al. 2009). Within-corpus and between-subcorpus frequency comparisons were both carried out. Pearson's χ^2 test for homogeneity is employed for this purpose, analogous to the within-corpus χ^2 test for goodness-of-fit described above. A log-likelihood (LL) test was also employed (cf. Rayson and Garside 2000), as was Fisher's Exact test, allowing for more appropriate testing in cases where the observed frequency was too low to obtain reliable results with chi-squared.

3.4. Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodology and materials employed for the following four chapters of data analysis. These chapters analyze the distribution of morphosyntactic, phonological and lexical variables in LCDC and the morphosyntactic characteristics of the language revitalization community in the LCVCC. These corpus-based analyses provide a much-needed empirical test for the concept of decreolization.

Chapter 4. Morphosyntax

4.1. Introduction

Having established the theoretical (Chapter 1), sociohistorical (Chapter 2) and methodological (Chapter 3) background, the remainder of this thesis is dedicated to addressing the question of whether creole languages change in specific ways. This chapter begins this investigation with analyses of 15 morphosyntactic variables—9 variables in the nominal domain and 6 variables in the verbal domain. The discussion of language contact and change here, as in the rest of the thesis, intends to test the creole-specific concept of decreolization (1.2) against the crosslinguistically-applicable pluralist framework of language change (1.1) using empirical data.

Each variable is presented and then analyzed in diachronic and synchronic perspectives with data from the Louisiana Creole Diachronic Corpus (LCDC). Changes are traced from Old Louisiana Creole (OLC) through to the contemporary Teche (TLC) and Mississippi (MLC) varieties. To triangulate this analysis, reference is made to data from e.g. Pointe Coupee (Klingler 2003a), Mon Louis Island Creole (MLIC; Marshall 1991), St Tammany (Carriere & Viator m.s.) and other peripheral varieties (Klingler & Dajko 2006) (see §2.2.2 for an identification of each of these varieties). Quantitative analyses demonstrate the importance of sociolinguistic factors—in particular, variation across regions and racial segregation—in tempering the trajectory of each change. Above all, it is shown that no instance of change in the morphosyntactic follows a creole-specific trajectory and, instead, all variables follow pathways of change attested in creole and non-creole languages.

4.2. Nominal domain

The nine variables in the nominal domain all fall within the LC Determiner Phrase (DP). Of these, four variables pertain to the expression of gender and number agreement (§2.1) and five variables shed light on the expression of definiteness and the overall restructuring of the DP (§2.2). After the analysis of the variables in §4.2.1, there is a general discussion of number and gender in LC in §4.2.1.5. The same structure is followed in §4.2.2, with discussion in §4.2.2.5.

4.2.1. Number and gender

4.2.1.1. Number: Possessive determiners

4.2.1.1.1. Introduction

An emergent system of number agreement is visible on inflected possessive determiners in TLC, especially prevalent in the first, second and third person singular (Table 20). Typically, French-

lexifier creoles do not inflect for number agreement in this domain, and the adoption of this French-like feature appears to be a textbook case of decreolization.

Table 20. Number agreement on possessive determiners.

	S	PL
1	*mo*	*me*
2	*to*	*te*
3	*so*	*se*

Neumann (1985a) presents the first comprehensive evidence of possessive determiner phrases with number agreement (4.1)-(4.2) and the periphrastic strategy (4.3) in use in OLC. Neumann (1985a:128) reports these two strategies as interchangeable for most speakers, and the variation between them is the focus of this section.

(4.1) *To di **te** **peche** a l pret*
2S say **2S.PL** **sin[PL]** to DEF priest
'You tell your sins to the priest'
(N85:129)

(4.2) *Fronswa mene **se** **vach** ondon en magazen*
François take **3S.PL** **cow[PL]** inside INDEF barn
'François took his cows into a barn.'
(N85:129)

(4.3) *To routi **to** **kou dèn-ye** oben **to** **kou poul-ye** byen.*
2S roast **2S** **turkey neck-PL** or **2s** **chicken neck-PL** well.
'You roast your turkey necks or chicken necks well'.
(N85:127)

4.2.1.1.2. Analysis

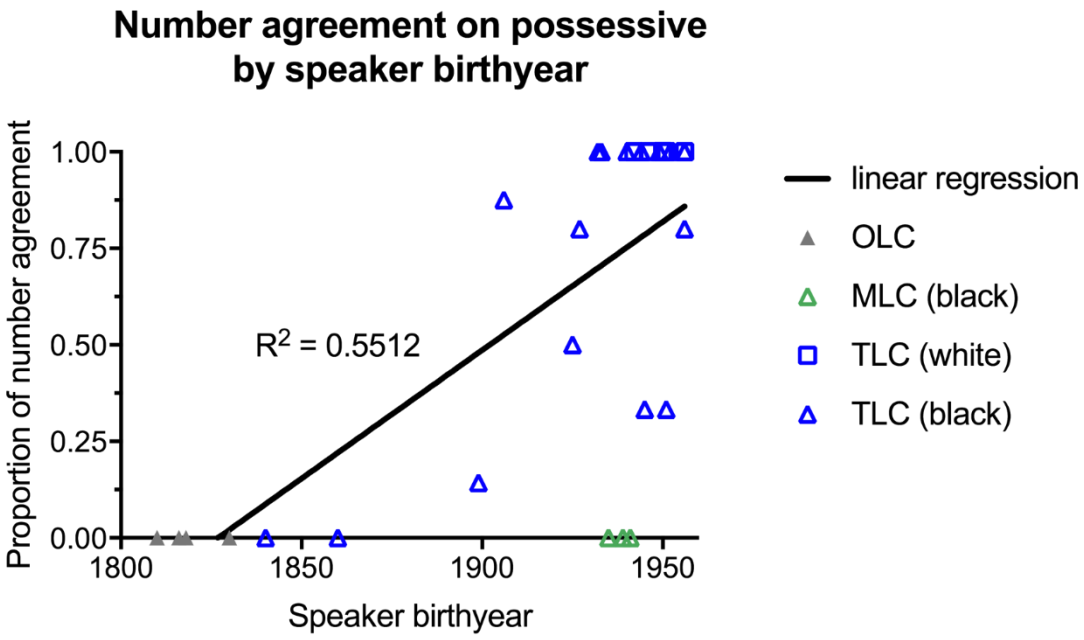

Figure 10. Number agreement on possessive determiners by speaker birthyear (linear regression).

Figure 10 shows the results of a linear regression, displaying the proportion of possessive determiners showing number agreement across the diachronic corpus. OLC shows no record of possessive determiners marked for number. Instead, two kinds of plural possessive determiner phrases are found in these texts: unmarked and periphrastic. In the unmarked case, plural nouns are not marked for number (see §2.1.1.) and the possessive determiner is invariable (4.4). A periphrastic strategy is normally used as in (4.5), where the noun is modified with the post-posed plural determiner *-ye* (see §2.1.1.) and the determiner is left unchanged.

(4.4) *tout* *mo* *zami*
all 1S.POSS friend[PL]
'all my friends'
(FOT01)

(4.5) *Li* *couri* *joinde* *so* *frère-yé*
3S go meet 3S.POSS brother-PL
'She went to meet her brothers.'
(FOT23)

Early TLC shows no example of forms *me, te, se*. The earliest record of possessive determiners varying for number is from Morgan's 1959 study of TLC, where he records the first person possessive determiner /mez/ (< Fr. *mes*), but no other possessive determiner. Morgan does not discuss this as evidence of number agreement but as a lexical phenomenon of borrowing from French (his 'reborrowing').

There has been a clear shift for most speakers of TLC to an inflectional system. Field data contain all three strategies (unmarked, periphrastic, inflectional), though to differing degrees. Phrases with unmarked plural nouns are found in both TLC (4.6) and Vacherie MLC (4.7).

(4.6) *to* *zye*
2S.POSS eye[PL]
'Your eyes'
(T2017BM)

(4.7) *boug-ye* *te* *a* *lòt* *kote* *ap* *vole* *so* *zafèr*
guy-PL PST at other side PROG steal 3S.POSS thing[PL]
'The guys were on the other side stealing his things'
(M2017EO)

A degree of variation exists between the inflectional (*se* N: 4.8a, 4.9a, 4.10a) and periphrastic (*so* N-*ye*: 4.8b, 4.9b, 4.10b) strategies in TLC, with both forms appearing in the corpus.

(4.8a) *me* *deu* *piti*
1S.POSS.PL two child[PL]
'my two children.'
(T2017CF)

(4.8b) *mo* *sœr-ye*
1S.POSS sister-PL
'my sisters'
(T2017MM)

(4.9a) *te* *jnou*
2S.POSS.PL knee[PL]
'your knees'
(T2017LW)

(4.9b) *to* *lamen-ye*
2S.POSS hand-PL
'your hands'
(T2017BM)

(4.10a) *se* *pat*
3S.POSS.PL paw
'its paws'
(T2017RM)

(4.10b) *so* *piti-ye*
3S.POSS child-PL
'his children'
(T2017GB)

Determiners *me*, *te* and *se* also appear with plural English nouns inserted with no plural morphology as in (4.11) (for English noun insertions see Chapter 6), further evidence that these determiners are integrated into TLC grammar.

(4.11) *me* *KNEECAP*
1S.PL kneecap[PL]
'My kneecaps'
(T2017BB)

In TLC two 'hybrid' forms were found that feature both inflected possessive determiners and post-posed plural determiners (4.12, 4.13).

(4.12) *Tou* *me* *moun* *vìv* *vyeu,* ***me*** ***granpèr-ye.***
All 1S.POSS.PL person[PL] live old 1S.POSS.PL grandfather-PL.
'All my people live old, my grandfathers.'
(T2017MR)

(4.13) *Me* ***se*** ***piti-ye*** *ye* *te* *juch* *parle* *kreyòl*
But 3S.POSS.PL child-PL 3PL PST just speak Creole
'But her children, they just spoke Creole.'
(T2017HW)

Finally, emphatic possessive determiners (ending *-kenn*, *-tchenn*) were also inflected for number in some cases (4.14-4.16). That number agreement has extended into the class of emphatic possessive determiners suggests a further process of internal restructuring which will be examined in detail in §4.2.1.5.2.1.

(4.14) *mekenn* *piti*
1S.POSS.PL.EMPH child[PL]
'My own children'
(T2017MY)

(4.15) *metchenn* *piti*
1S.POSS.PL.EMPH child[PL]
'My own children'
(T2017MR)

(4.16) *Pa* *metchenn,* *tetchenn* *BUT* *twa* *to* *gen* *de* *men*
NEG 1S.POSS.EMPH, 2S.POSS.EMPH <BUT> 2S.EMPH 2S INDEF.PL hand <SOFT>

SOFT *me metchenn* *te* *abitchwe* *èk* *sa.*
but 1S.POSS.EMPH PST used_to with DEM.
Not *mine* [hands], *yours* [hands]; but you have soft hands, but *mine* are used to that' (T2017DB)

A quantitative analysis performed on these data examined the proportion of usage of the periphrastic strategy (*so N-ye*) over the inflected possessive determiners (*se N*). A logistic regression performed in Rbrul models hometown as the significant predictor of number agreement on possessive determiners (raw data given in Table 55, Appendices; for the regression itself, see Table 56). All tokens of possessive determiners from Vacherie MLC display no agreement, while all tokens of possessive determiners from Henderson TLC display agreement (Figure 11). Inflection is widespread in all TLC-speaking settlements (Figure 11), and there is an overwhelming divergence between MLC and TLC (Figure 11). Figure 12 shows that white speakers mark for number agreement without variation. Black speakers exhibit less number agreement overall, but the difference between these groups is not statistically significant. Racial segregation does not seem to play a significant role in the distribution of number agreement on possessive determiners.

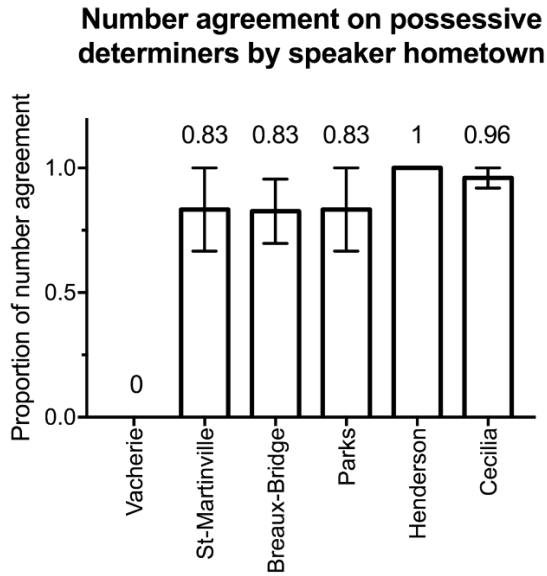

Figure 11. Number agreement on possessive determiners by speaker hometown. Difference between Vacherie MLC and TLC is significant at p < .001 (Mann Whitney).

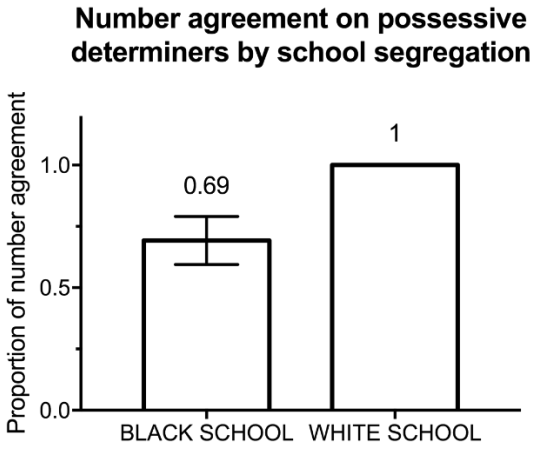

Figure 12. Number agreement on possessive determiners by school segregation. Difference between these groups is not significant at p = .06 (Mann Whitney).

4.2.1.1.3. Summary

Neumann (1985a:128) characterizes the inflected determiner system (*me* N) as 'interchangeable' with the periphrastic (*mo* N-*ye*) strategy for most speakers. The following generation of TLC speakers, analyzed here, exhibits a system which has almost totally stabilized. White speakers exhibit a fully-fledged system of number agreement; amongst black speakers this system has more variation but not enough to result in a statistically significant difference between the groups. Vacherie MLC shows no sign of inflection for number agreement, evidence of that variety's limited contact with French. Put in the context of decreolization, these findings corroborate an account by which a creole comes to resemble its lexifier. However, considering the findings in the pages to follow, only a more nuanced account can accurately capture this phenomenon (see §4.2.1.5.).

4.2.1.1.4. Note: Personal dative constructions

Before moving on, it is necessary to address a structure which Neumann (1985a:128) identifies as a plural possessive phrase, whereby the possessive determiner is followed by the plural determiner *le* (§2.1.1.) and then the noun, as in (4.17).

(4.17) *M* *ajet* *mo* *le* *tchoris*.
1S buy 1S PL chaurice[PL].
Translation in Neumann (1985a): 'J'achète mes chorizos'
('I buy my chaurices [spicy Creole sausage]')
(N85:128)

This analysis is revisited here. Rather than an intermediate stage in the development of plural marking on possessive determiners, these seem to be related to what has been termed the 'personal dative' widespread in Southern and Appalachian American English varieties (Horn 2008, 2013; Webelhuth & Dannenberg 2006). According to Horn (2013), such constructions typically encode some benefit for the agent or a positive evaluation of the event by the speaker (4.18, 4.19).

(4.18)
I had me a man in summertime/He had summer-colored skin
(Joni Mitchell, *Urge for Going*, in Horn 2013:170)

(4.19)
I love me some him
(Horn 2013:176)

Personal dative constructions are present in Louisiana English varieties (LE, see §2.3.2.2) as well as in LF: *je me mets six couvertes dessus mon lit* 'I put six blankets on my bed' (DLC:300); *Et il follait qu'eusse se met des chaînes* 'And they had to put chains [on the car tyres]' (DLC:504). Horn (2008) observes the presence of these constructions in various varieties of vernacular French (4.20).

(4.20) Paul se tape un pastis.
Paul REFL hit INDEF pastis.
'Paul knocks (him) down a pastis'
(Horn 2008:187)

It is unclear whether these constructions have their origin in LE, LF or LC. Instead, all three varieties converge on this construction. In examples (4.21, 4.22), I include Neumann's original French translation, my English translation from the LC and my equivalent rendering in LE and LF. Constructions identical to (4.22) are also found in the LCDC, in addition to cases where the object pronoun is phonologically distinct and cannot be a possessive determiner (4.23).

(4.21)

M	*ajet*	*mo*	*le*	*tchoris.*
1S	buy	1S	PL	chaurice[PL].

Translation in Neumann (1985a): 'J'achète mes chorizos' ('I buy my chaurices')
My translation: 'I buy chaurices [for my benefit].'
(N85:128)
cf. LE: 'I buy me some chaurice'
cf. LF: 'Je m'achète des chaurices'

(4.22)

To	*me*	*ta*	*le*	*chevret*	*sek…*
2S	put	2S	PL	shrimp[PL]	dry…

Translation in Neumann (1985a): 'Tu mets tes crevettes séchées…' ('You put [in] your dried shrimps')
My translation: 'You put some dried shrimps [in]... [for your benefit]'
(N85:128)
cf. LE: 'You put you some dried shrimps ...'
cf. LF: 'Tu te mets des chevrettes sèches'

(4.23)

Mo	*achèt*	*mwa*	*le*	*tomat*
1S	buy.VS	1S.OBJ	PL	tomato

'I buy tomatoes [for my benefit]'
cf. LE: 'I buy me some tomatoes'
(T2017MM)

4.2.1.2. Gender: Third person singular pronoun

4.2.1.2.1. Introduction

LC pronouns are specified for person (first, second, third), number (singular, plural) but not for gender. However, language documentation from Neumann (1985a:170) onwards shows the existence of third person singular feminine pronoun *èl* (< Fr. *elle*) in TLC. This section examines the distribution of its variant relative to the third person singular pronoun *li*.

4.2.1.2.2. Analysis

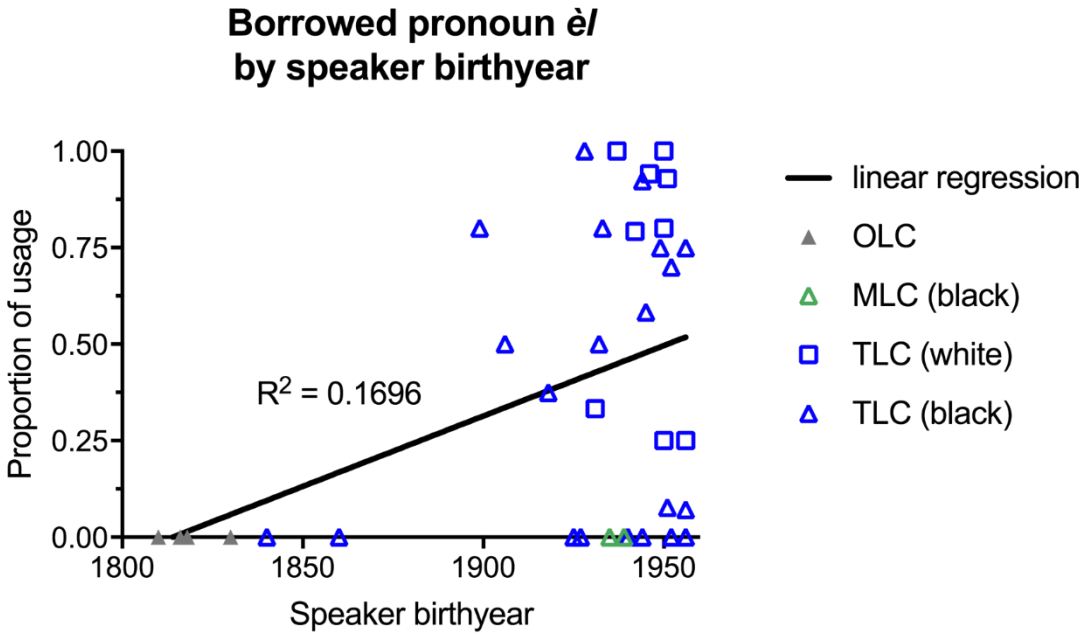

Figure 13. Borrowed pronoun èl *by speaker birthyear* (*linear regression*).

Diachronic analysis shows that *èl* is a rare variant of *li*, only used by 8 speakers in the LCDC (Figure 13); there is no attested use of this form in LC before Neumann (1985a).

Neumann (1985a:170) states 'cette distinction [de genre à la troisième personne] est faite avant tout par les créolophones blancs'[34], though she also cites data from black speakers, e.g. (4.24). I heard the same mentioned in metalinguistic commentary during sociolinguistic interviews, e.g. (4.25). Similarly, Klingler (2003a:209) found sporadic usage of the form *èl* in white speakers' data in Pointe Coupee MLC.

(4.24)	*Se*	***èl***	*ki*	*travay*	*don*	*la*	*kour*	*...*	*Ye*	*te*	*pa*	*chonje*	***èl***
	EX	**3S.F**	REL	work	in	DEF	courtyard	...	3PL	PST	NEG	change	**3S.F**

'**She's** the one who works in the courtyard ... they didn't change **her** [clothes]'
(N85BG, in N85:170)

[34] 'This distinction [for gender in the third person] is made above all by white creolophones'

(4.25)

Le	*blan:*	*'se*	***èl***	*ki*	*travay*	*a*	*la*	*mezon'.*
PL	white	EX	EL	REL	work.VS	at	DEF	house

Le	*nwar:*	*'se*	***li***	*ki*	*travay*	*a*	*la*	*mezon'.*
PL	black	EX	3S	REL	work.VS	at	DEF	house

'White people say: She [***èl* (3S.F)**] is the one who works at the house.
Black people say: She [***li* (3S)**] is the one who works at the house.'
(T2017LW)

These observations are supported by contemporary corpus data, white speakers exhibited a higher average proportion of *èl*, differing significantly from black speakers (Figure 15).

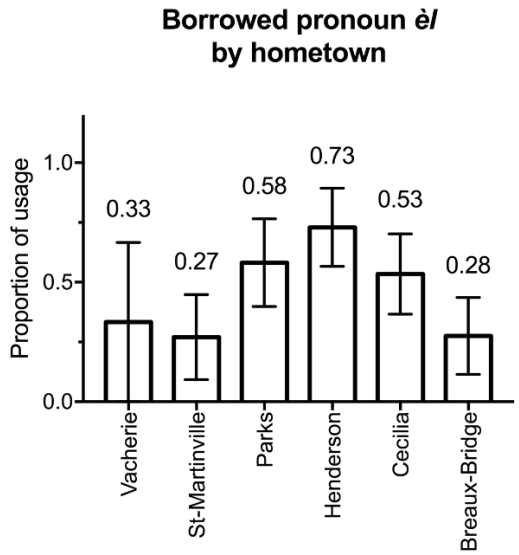

Figure 14. Borrowed pronoun èl *by speaker hometown. Difference between MLC and TLC is not significant (p = 0.1292, Mann-Whitney). N.B. 1 outlier (MN) in Vacherie, see §4.2.1.2.3.*

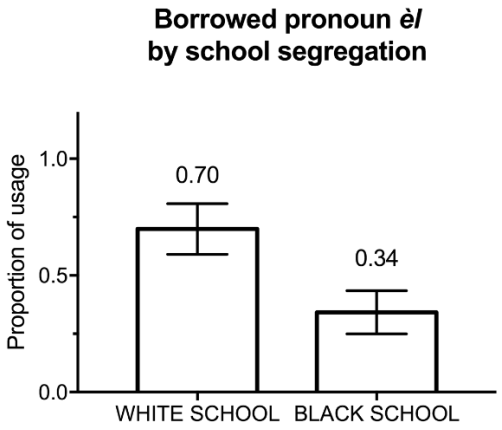

Figure 15. Borrowed pronoun èl *by school segregation. Difference is significant (p = 0.01,* Mann-Whitney).

Within TLC, *èl* was attested in all settlements in the region to varying degrees (Figure 14). Speakers from Parks, Cecilia and Henderson on average used a higher proportion of *èl* than speakers from the larger towns of St Martinville and the Breaux Bridge. When racial segregation is considered, Parks stands out: all speakers from Parks were from the black Promised Land subdivision, and all were found to use *èl*. Reviewing data in Neumann (1985a), I find that all instances of *èl* used by black speakers also come from Parks. There are not enough data from Parks here to draw any firm conclusions in this regard, but this certainly merits more detailed investigation.

4.2.1.2.3. Summary

Data show that *èl* has recently been introduced into TLC. Sporadic usage is found amongst white speakers and black speakers from Parks. This seemingly straightforward case of decreolization through 'new forms' borrowing will be discussed in §4.2.1.5.1.

In Vacherie MLC, only one of three speakers used *èl*. This was MN, who had spent time in France and reported accommodating his LC to French.[35] MN's pronominal system does appear to have been influenced by exposure to French, as he also uses *je* as a first person singular pronoun. The adoption of these features as an attempt to speak 'better French' (as MN stated in the interview) is not surprising given speakers' metalinguistic awareness of the 'Frenchness' of these pronouns, as demonstrated by glossonyms for LC such as '*mo gen* stuff' ('"I have" stuff') or '*mo kouri* French' ('"I go" French). MN's data provide insight into how linguistic accommodation can result in the adoption of new linguistic forms, an important topic taken up in Chapter 6 and Chapter 8.

4.2.1.3. Gender: Indefinite singular determiner

4.2.1.3.1. Introduction

OLC exhibits a pre-posed indefinite singular determiner *en* /ɛ̃/. In TLC, there is a feminine form of this determiner *enn* /ɛ̃n/ reported by Neumann (1985a) but not by Morgan (1959). The variation between these two forms over time is the subject of this analysis. Instances of an indefinite determiner followed by a vowel or /n/ were not included in this analysis as there is ambiguity as to whether such cases indicate gender agreement (with *enn*, 4.26a, 4.27b) or noun agglutination (see §4.2.2.1) (4.26b, 4.27b).

[35] It is not unusual for LC-speakers to have exposure to varieties of French from outside of Louisiana, either through their own travels abroad, meeting or working with tourists in Louisiana, military service, etc. Historically, Louisiana has always had a close relationship with the French-speaking world (§2.3.2).

(4.26a) /ɛ̃negwij/
enn *egwiy*
INDEF.F needle[F] [36]

(4.26b) /ɛ̃negwij/
en *negwiy*
INDEF needle
'a needle'
(T2017GB)

(4.27a) /ɛ̃nervenɑ̃/
enn *ervenan*
INDEF.F ghost

(4.27b) /ɛ̃nervenɑ̃/
en *nervenan*
INDEF ghost
'a ghost'
(T2017RM)

4.2.1.3.2. Analysis

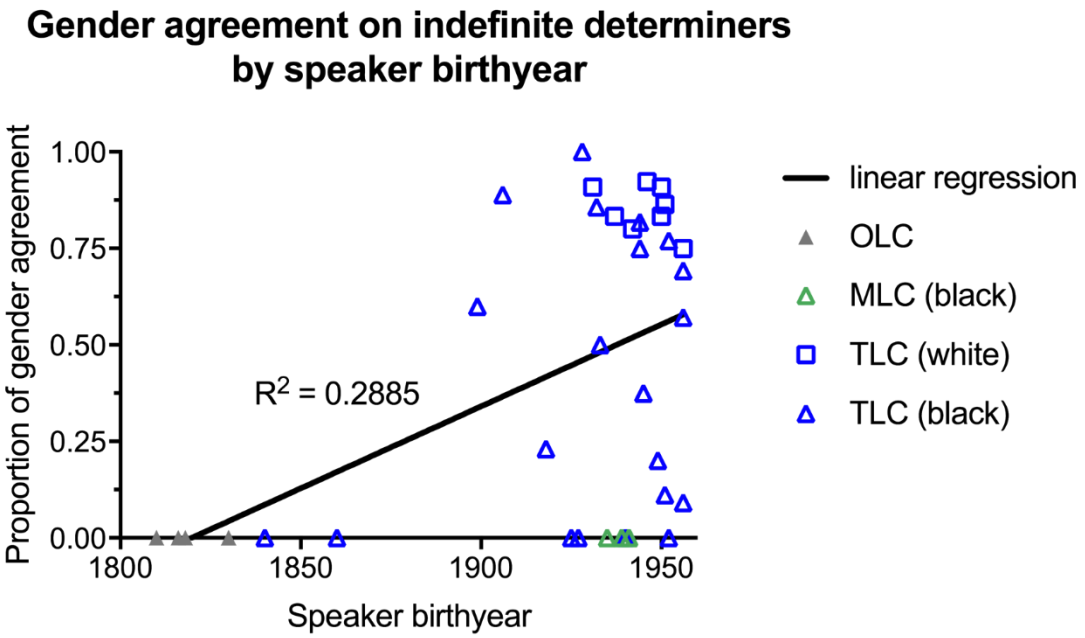

Figure 16. Gender agreement on determiners by speaker birthyear (linear regression)

Figure 16 shows that the feminine form *enn* was present in neither OLC nor Early TLC. This corroborates findings in Neumann (1985a:54). Remarks by Fortier (1884:105) are unclear: he

[36] Throughout the section [F] is used to indicate where nouns *might* be assigned feminine gender. In practice, if an LC word's French etymon is feminine, so is the LC word; a handful of exceptions to this generalization are attested (e.g. *franse* 'French language', masculine in French but feminine for some speakers of LC).

describes an indefinite determiner 'represented [orthographically] by *in* and pronounced *inne* for masculine and feminine.' In Fortier's OLC texts, the only examples of orthographic forms interpretable as feminine /ɛ̃n/ are tokens of the number 'one', not the feminine indefinite determiner (4.28, 4.29). Texts not authored by Fortier show the same pattern (4.30), supporting Neumann's observations.

(4.28)

Yavait	***eine***	*fois*	*ein*	*n'homme*	*et*	*ein*	*fame*
EX.PST	one	time	INDEF	man	and	INDEF	woman[F]

qui	*té*	*gagnin*	*vingt-cinq*	*pitis.*
REL	PST	have.VL	twenty-five	child

'Once upon a time [lit. There was one time], a man and a woman had twenty-five children…'
(FOT17)

(4.29)

… et	*dit*	*li*	*pas*	*prende*	*plis*	*qué*	***inne***	*dans*	*chaque*	*nique…*
…And	say	3S	NEG	take	more	COMP	**one**	in	each	nest…

'… and told him not to take more than one in each nest …'
(FOT11)

(4.30)

Ga!	*Mo*	*déjà*	*raché*	*la tché*	***eine***	*dans*	*milés-yé!*
Look!	1S	already	pull_out	tail	one	in	mule-PL

'Look! I've already pulled out the tail of one of the mules!'
(CNT9)

Early TLC does not feature *enn*. Corroborating this, Broussard (1942:52n1) states that TLC feminine indefinite determiner *enn* is used exclusively with the noun *fwa* ('times'). This appears to be an example of the phenomenon shown in the examples (51-53) above, where *enn* is best interpreted as the numeral 'one' and not as an indefinite determiner (i.e. *enn fwa* 'one time').

Likewise, in Morgan (1959: 24a) the TLC indefinite determiner *en* seems not to be marked for gender: *en nòm* 'a man', *en fòm* 'a woman' The first detailed attestation of gender on indefinite determiners is from Neumann (1985a), who reports both *en* (INDEF, 4.31a) and *enn* (INDEF.F, 3.31b).

(4.31a)

alɔ̃	fe	ɛ̃	dine
HORT	do	INDEF	dinner[M]

'Let's have a dinner (m.).'
(N85:107)

(4.31a)

alɔ̃	fe	**ɛ̃n**	kurs
HORT	do	INDEF.F	race[F]

'Let's have a race (f.).'
(N85:107)

In synchronic analysis, a mixed-effects logistic regression (Table 59, Appendices) reveals speaker hometown and school segregation as significant predictors of gender agreement. Amongst white speakers, there is a clear preference for gender agreement, significantly less so amongst black speakers (Figure 17).

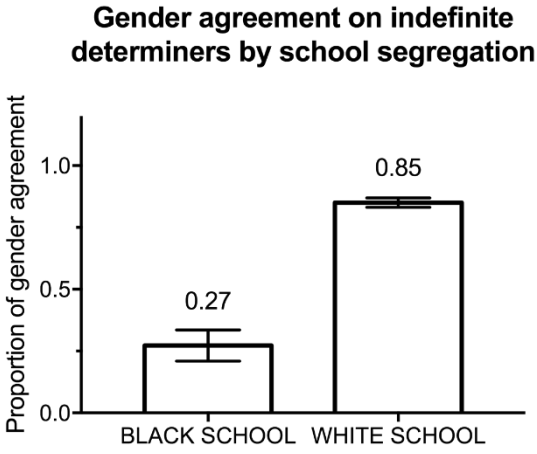

Figure 17. Proportion of gender agreement on indefinite singular determiners by speaker school segregation. Between-groups difference is significant at p < .0001 (Mann Whitney).

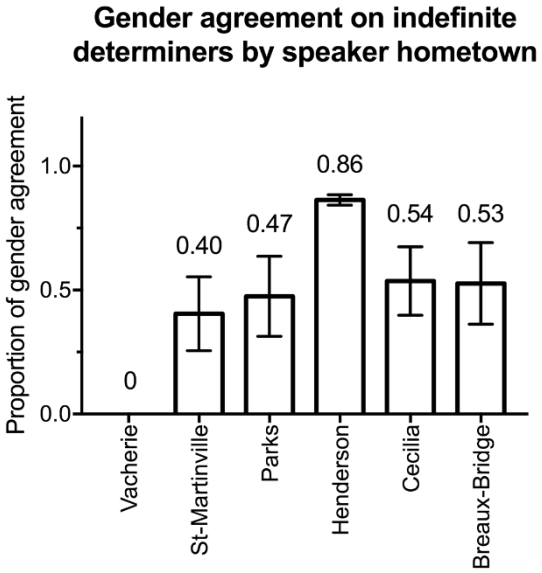

Figure 18. Proportion of gender agreement on indefinite determiners (enn) by speaker hometown. Difference between MLC and TLC is significant at p < .05 (Mann Whitney).

All TLC-speaking settlements display variation in their proportion of gender marking indefinite determiners. Henderson—a majority-white settlement—displays the most stable gender marking (as indicated by the lack of error bars in Figure 12). Differing significantly from TLC, *enn* is not attested in Vacherie MLC (Figure 18).

The literature shows that the Vacherie data reflect similar trends in other MLC varieties. In Pointe Coupee MLC, both *en* (4.32a) and *enn* (with variant *èn*, 4.32b) are attested. These forms are reported as 'somewhat rare', though apparently less so in the speech of whites (Klingler 2003a:171).

(4.32a) *en* *fiy*
INDEF girl[F]
'A girl'
(TK2003BD:171)

(4.32b) *èn* *move* *lannen*
INDEF.F bad year[F]
'A bad year'
(TK2003AS:171)

Klingler & Dajko (2006) do not report inflected indefinite determiners in St Tammany MLC, and I find no attestations in Carriere & Viator (ms.). Similarly, indefinite determiners in MLIC are not inflected for gender (Marshall 1991:77).

4.2.1.3.3. Summary

Gender marking on indefinite singular determiners in TLC is well-established amongst white speakers; in Vacherie MLC, like OLC, there are no attestations of *enn* indicating that the variety not diverged in this respect.

4.2.1.4. Gender: Possessive determiners

4.2.1.4.1. Introduction

In addition to being inflected for number (as seen in §4.2.1.1), possessive determiners in LC sometimes agree with the nouns they modify for grammatical gender. Since French-lexifier creoles typically do not have any gender features (Syea 2017), the emergence of this agreement is noteworthy. The alteration between possessive determiners *mo, to, so* with their feminine counterparts *ma, ta, sa* is clearly an outcome of contact with French, but, as will be shown in §4.2.1.5, does not fit neatly into a decreolization account.

4.2.1.4.2. Analysis

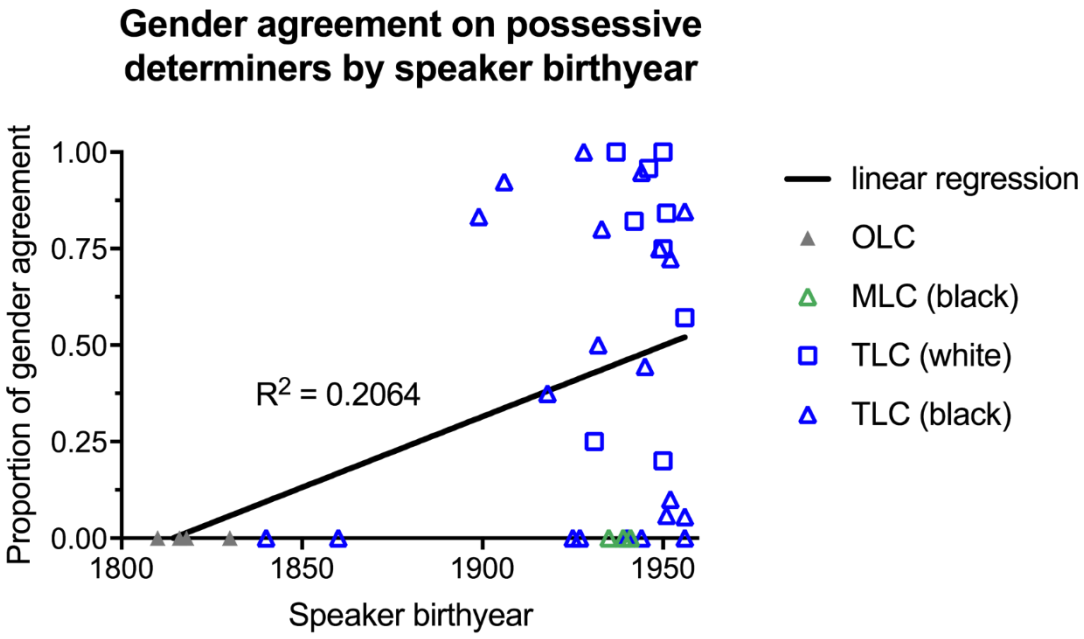

Figure 19. Gender agreement on possessive determiners by speaker birthyear (linear regression).

The development of gender agreement on possessive determiners shows a clear divergence from the OLC system over time (Figure 19). Figure 19 also reveals two distinct clusters in the contemporary sample. One cluster, in the bottom right-hand corner of the plot, is made up of speakers who mostly conform with the OLC pattern of no gender agreement. The other cluster, at the top right-hand corner of the plot, contains speakers who display widespread gender agreement.

In OLC, there is no evidence of any possessive determiner agreeing for gender with the noun it modifies, regardless of whether the LC noun's French etymon is feminine (4.33, 4.34) or masculine (4.35, 4.36).

(4.33)

mo *cabane*
1S.POSS cabin[F]
'My cabin'
(FOT03)

(4.34)
mo *moman*
1S.POSS mother[F]
'My mother'
(FOT13)

(4.35)
mo *choal*
1S.POSS horse[M]
'My horse'
(FOT18)

(4.36)
mo *gaçon*
1S.POSS boy[M]
'My boy'
(FOT15)

Early TLC conforms to the OLC pattern (corroborated by data in Broussard 1942 and Lane 1935). Data in Morgan (1959), however, indicates a variable gender marking emerging through 're-borrowing' from French (Morgan 1959: 24a). Morgan reports only occasional marking of gender on adjectives and nouns, stating that it applies only to nouns without an agglutinated definite article, e.g. for nouns such as /fɔm/ 'woman (f.)' (< Fr. *femme* (f.)) and not for /lamezɔ̃/ 'house (f.)' < Fr. *la maison* (f.); cf. §4.2.2.1) Data in Neumann (1985a:59) appear to show a system which has advanced beyond that reported in Morgan (1959). Examples (4.37-4.40) show that this emergent system is still

variable, but that agglutinated nouns such as *lamezon* have begun to lose their agglutinated element (cf. §4.2.2.1) and exhibit gender agreement (4.38).

(4.37)
Anèt, ***mo*** *fiy*
Anette 1S.POSS daughter[F]
'Annette my daughter' (no agreement)

(4.38)
Ma *mezon* *se* *a* *la* *Grond Pwent.*
1S.POSS.F house[F] COP at DEF Grande Pointe.
'My (f.) house (f.) is in Grande Pointe [Cecilia]' (feminine gender agreement)

(4.39)
So *latcheu* *chmiz*
3S.POSS tail[F] shirt[F]
'his shirttail' (no agreement)

(4.40)
sa *kour*
3S.POSS.F yard[F]
'his yard' (feminine gender agreement)
(N85:59)

Additionally, Neumann (1985a) records emphatic possessive pronouns marked for gender. Example (4.41) demonstrates the instability of gender agreement in this domain. Only the first emphatic possessive pronoun (*matchenn*) is marked for gender; the second (*totchenn*) remains unmarked.

(4.41)
matchenn *mezon* *myœ* *ke* ***totchenn.***
1S.POSS.F.EMPH house[F] better COMP 2S.POSS.EMPH
'*My* (f.) house (f.) is better than *yours* (no agreement)'
(N85:60)

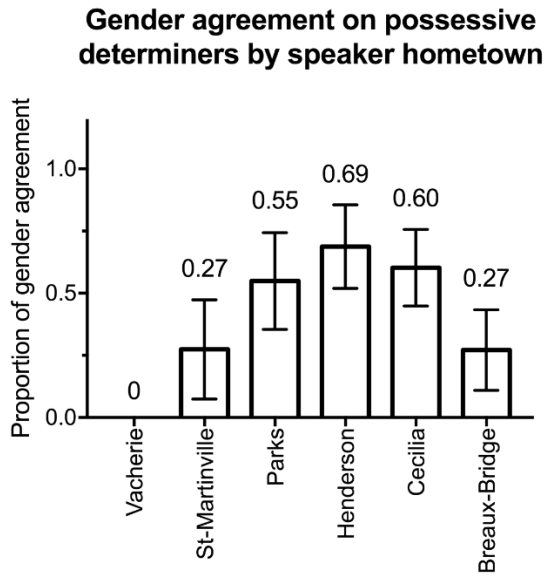

Figure 20. Proportion of gender agreement on possessive determiners by speaker hometown. Difference between MLC and TLC is significant at p < .05 (Mann Whitney).

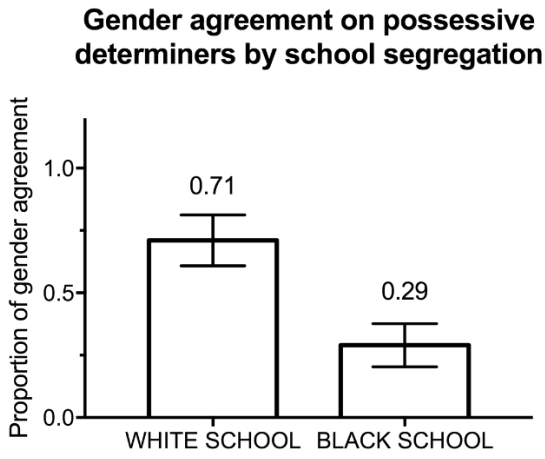

Figure 21. Proportion of gender agreement on possessive determiners by speaker school segregation. Between-groups difference is significant at p < .001 (Mann Whitney).

A logistic regression performed on the synchronic data (Table 61, Appendices) finds two significant predictors: school segregation and variety. As in the case of number agreement on possessive determiners (§4.2.1.1), there is significant divergence between TLC and MLC (Figure 20). TLC displays more variation between settlements than in the case of number marking (cf. Figure 11, p. 112). This may indicate that gender agreement on possessive determiners is less well-established than number agreement. Further support of this is shown in Figure 21. As white speakers generally have been under more pressure to accommodate to French, they are the probable agents of this change-in-progress. The pronounced difference between white and black creolophones usage of gender agreement suggests that it has not yet taken hold across TLC.

These data conform to those available for other varieties of LC. Possessive pronouns marked for gender are 'common' amongst white speakers of Pointe Coupee MLC, who have had more contact with French. Such forms are overall rare in that variety (Klingler 2003a:186). St Tammany shows little evidence of gender marking on possessive determiners and that of Natchitoches shows none (Klingler & Dajko 2006:18-21). As Klingler & Dajko (2006:20) mention, data in Marshall (1991) suggest no grammatical gender system in MLIC, representative of the MLC variety as a whole (4.42, 4.43).

(4.42)
to *labuf*
1S.POSS mouth[F]
'your mouth'

(4.43)
so *lamezõ*
3S.POSS house[F]
'your house'
(Marshall 1991)

4.2.1.4.3. Summary

Gender agreement on possessive determiners is less established than number agreement in TLC, with a much lower proportion of usage across all settlements in the TLC and across lines of racial segregation. This is of interest since decreolization posits the straightforward adoption of lexifier features.

4.2.1.5. Discussion: Emergent number and gender agreement

The emergence of gender and number marking on possessive determiners, the marking of gender on the indefinite singular determiner and the third person singular feminine pronoun *èl* all underscore the significant divergence of TLC from its MLC congener and their OLC progenitor. Further, these appear to be a classic examples of decreolization changes. On the surface at least, these changes involve the introduction of 'new forms' but no 'new functions' (cf. Bickerton's maxim, §1.2.3.2) and result in LC becoming broadly more similar to French. Upon closer examination, however, these changes are much more complex, involving language-internal factors, divergence from French and the introduction of 'new functions' into LC.

4.2.1.5.1. Pronoun borrowing

Pronouns can be borrowed (Thomas and Everett 2001), though typically this is facilitated by intensive contact between two varieties with different grammatical distinctions in the pronominal domain (Matras 2009). The donor language has a set of pronouns which are subdivided based on grammatical distinctions (e.g. gender, animacy, number, inclusive-exclusive); the recipient language does not. This results in the adoption into the recipient language of a donor-language pronoun to level this discrepancy (Matras 2009:205).

Intensive contact and the levelling of grammatical distinctions are applicable to the case of *èl* in TLC. The LF pronominal system features a distinction for gender in the third person singular (*il* 3S.M; *elle*/*alle* 3S.F), where LC has just one pronoun (*li* 3S). Thus, the incorporation of *èl* (< LF *elle*) seems to be a case of straightforward decreolization, as LC becomes more similar to LF through the adoption of 'new forms.' The creole grammar begins to make distinctions found in the grammar of the lexifier, using borrowed lexifier forms to 'fill the gaps.'

Close examination of the data reveals that the distribution of LC *èl* is divergent to that of French *elle*. For example, French *elle* can refer to any feminine noun, regardless of whether the referent is non-human (4.44a) or human (4.44b). LC *èl* may only refer to humans (4.45) and never to non-human nouns, even when they are marked for feminine grammatical gender (4.46). Furthermore, *èl* is used for human nouns understood as female even when they are not marked for grammatical gender (4.47).

(4.44a)

Voici	*ma*	*maison*$_i$.	*Elle*$_i$	*est*	*jolie*.
Here is	3S.POSS.F	house.F$_i$	3S.F$_i$	be.3S	pretty.F

'Here is my house$_i$. It$_i$ is pretty.'

(4.44b)

Voici	*ma*	*mère*$_i$.	*Elle*$_i$	*est*	*jolie.*
Here is	3S.POSS.F	mother.F$_i$	3S.F$_i$	be.3S	pretty.F

'Here is my mother$_i$. She$_i$ is pretty.'

(4.45)

E	*ma*	*bèl-fiy*	***èl***	*ale*	*GRADUATE VALEDICTORIAN*	*dan*	*sa*	*klas*
And	1S.POSS.F	daughter-in-law.F	EL	FUT	<graduate valedictorian>	in	3S.POSS.F	class.F

'And my daughter-in-law is going to graduate as valedictorian in her class.'
(T2017LM)

(4.46)

Na	***enn***	***magazen***$_i$	*kote*	*Pak*	*la,*	*ye*	*pèl*	***li***$_i$	*Katen*.
EX	INDEF.F	shop[F]$_i$	side	Parks	there,	3PL	call.VS	3S$_i$	Catin's

'There's a shop$_i$ there by Parks, they call it$_i$ Catin's'
(T2017PB)

(4.47)

Mo	*vye*	*te*	***en***	***fonm***	*kriyòl.*	*Èl*	*sòr*	*a*	*Pon-Bro.*
1S.POSS	old	PST	**INDEF**	**woman[F]**	creole	El	Come-out	at	Breaux-Bridge

'My wife was a Creole woman. She came from Breaux Bridge.'
(T2017BF)

Examples (4.45-4.47) demonstrate that it is the referent's *social*—and not *grammatical*—gender which governs the usage of *èl*, i.e. *èl* may only refer to entities understood socially as female, in practice female humans.[37] This is unsurprising, given that the feature [±human] is already known to

[37] Plausible exceptions might include animate non-human entities (e.g. animals, deities) or anthropomorphized inanimate entities (e.g. boats, cars). No such examples were found in the corpus.

play a role in LC in the case of interrogative pronouns (see Rottet 2006). Animacy is important to several creole grammars (see Bobyleva 2013) and is a category identified as universally prominent by typologists following Comrie (1981). It is also worth noting that the English third person singular pronoun *she* expresses semantic gender, referring to entities classed as female, just as LC *èl* does. This may implicate contact with English as a point of dual reinforcement for this change.

Further syntactic evidence shows that LC *èl* does not have the same distribution as LF *elle*. In French, *elle* cannot occur as the object of a verb (4.48a); instead, a disjunctive pronoun must be used (4.48b). However, when used in LC, the pronoun *èl* can be the object of a transitive verb (4.49, 4.50).

(4.48a)
J'* *ai* *vu* ***elle.*
1S have.1S see.PTCP ELLE
for: 'I saw her'

(4.48b)
Je ***l'*** *ai* *vue.*
1S 3S have.1S see.PTCP.F
'I saw her'

(4.49)
Mo *prann* ***èl*** *konm* *mo* *moman*
1S take EL like 1S.POSS mother
'I took her as my mother'
(T2017HW)

(4.50)
Mo *sonnye* *ma* *moman* *mo* *te* *sonnye* ***èl*** *konm* *en* *ti* *bebe*
[...]
1S care.for.VL 1S.POSS.F [...] 1S PST care.for.VL EL like INDEF small baby

e *lave* ***èl,*** *mo* *te* *chanje* ***èl*** [...] *netoye* ***èl*** *le* *swa.*
and wash.VL EL, 1S PST change.VL EL [...] clean.VL EL DET.PL evening
'I cared for my mother ... I cared for her [=*èl*] like a little baby and washed her [=*èl*], I changed her [=*èl*]... I cleaned her [=*èl*] in the evenings.'
(T2017MY)

Finally, it is worth re-stating that *èl* is by no means found in the speech of all speakers in the corpus (§4.2.1.2.2). Even when speakers do use this pronoun, there is considerable variation, even within the same utterance (4.51) (cf. Neumann 1985a:170). This idiolectal variation should be subjected to more detailed analysis.

(4.51)

E	*la*	*mo*	*granmoman,*	*kan*	*li*	*mouri,*	*èl*	*te*	*swasant-sèz.*
and	there	1S.POSS	grandmother	when	3S	die	EL	PST	sixty-six

'And then my grandmother, when she (= *li*) died, she (= *èl*) was sixty-six.'
(T2017BM)

Diachronically, *èl* is a recent change. Synchronically, it is more frequent in TLC than in MLC. Within TLC, it is not confined to white speakers, but this group do use it most frequently. The example of one speaker of Vacherie MLC who has adopted *èl* on exposure to French makes for a good synchronic case study of accommodation as a source of this grammatical change (see discussion in §8.4.3). Like other examples of pronoun borrowing surveyed in Matras (2009), the recent adoption of *èl* into LC involves both intensive contact with French and the levelling of grammatical distinctions. On the surface, it appears to be a straightforward example of decreolization, and fits with the Bickertonian definition of that process involving 'new forms first, new functions later'. The 'new form' *èl* has been adopted by some speakers of LC but does not bring with it 'new functions', obeying LC syntax rather than introducing new structures from French (44a, 44b). Nevertheless, this does not result in LC's advergence to French, instead introducing new points of syntactic divergence. Bickerton's maxim in this case therefore does not sit well with the claim that decreolization involves the creole becoming gradually more like the lexifier.

The case of LC *èl* therefore supports criticism levelled by Thomason & Kaufman (1988), who point out that 'new forms first, new functions' later will never result in the creole becoming completely like its lexifier and, in any case, does not appear to be a creole-specific trajectory of contact-induced change (see §1.2.3.2). Additionally, I have also shown that creole-nonlexifier contact should be considered here: it is possible that the usage of *èl* is reinforced by contact with English, referring as it does only to human entities like English *she*.

4.2.1.5.2. Number and gender agreement

The emergence of number and gender is ostensibly a classic case of decreolization, representing a drastic—possibly exceptional—change: the emergence of an agreement system in a short space of time. However, closer examination shows that the trajectory of this change falls into line with typological observations of non-creoles and, further, is mediated by language-internal factors.

4.2.1.5.2.1. Hypercorrect forms

Neumann (1985a:129) first recorded 'hypercorrect' forms, where gender and number agreement is extended beyond the possessive determiners *mo, to, so*. The extension applies to plural first person possessive determiner *no*(*u*) and polite plural possessive determiner *vo*(*u*), e.g. *na vwa* 'our voice', *va mezon* 'your (pol.) house' (cf. with no agreement: *no vwa, vo mezon*). I heard such forms during fieldwork, though the LCDC contains just one example: *na granmoman* 'our grandmother' (T2017LD). Similar examples come from the set of emphatic possessive determiners, which as well as exhibiting number agreement (4.53) (see §2.1.2.), also exhibit gender agreement for some speakers (4.52). These determiners are not borrowed French forms, but still feature French-like morphology.

(4.52)
matchenn *famiy*
1S.POSS.F.EMPH family
'my own family'
(T2017VL)

(4.53)
metchenn *piti*
1S.POSS.PL-EMPH child[PL]
'my own children'
(T2017MR)

It should be emphasized at this point that these forms are rare in the LCDC, and the claims made here do not apply to all speakers in the corpus by any means. Nevertheless, the fact that they are used by different speakers, in different settlements, and also across time (Neumann 1985a) may be indicative of a change-in-progress. Specifically, it suggests an emergent process of analogical extension across possessive determiners for some speakers; that is, some speakers are extrapolating morphological rules from French-origin singular possessive determiners (see §1.1.3.1 for other examples of analogical change, including analogical extension).

The singular possessive determiners all have the same phonological form (*mo, to, so*) as the first and second person plural possessive determiners (*no* and *vo*), and a pattern is extended to the latter by analogy with the former (Table 21)

Table 21. Possessive determiners, including analogically extended variants (*lighter shade*)

	Sing.			Pl.	
	POSS	POSS.F	POSS.PL	POSS	POSS.F
1	*mo*	*ma*	*me*	*no*(*u*)	*na*
2 inf.	*to*	*ta*	*te*	*zò*(*t*)	-
2 pol.	*vo*(*u*)	*va*	-	*vo*(*u*)	*va*
3	*so*	*sa*	*se*	*ye*	-

That such extension is possible at all seems to imply a degree of morphological reanalysis and, in turn, the morphological compositionality of possessive determiners in the grammars of some speakers. That is, the vowel elements in possessive determiners are reanalyzed as inflections for number (*m-e* 1S.POSS-PL) and gender (*m-a* 1S.POSS-F), rather than the entire determiner itself being a non-compositional borrowing from French (*me* 1S.POSS.PL, *ma* 1S.POSS.F). These inflections are applied by analogy, generating forms such as *n-a* (1PL-F) and *v-a* (2PL-F) which do not resemble those of French.

It therefore appears that what was originally a French borrowing is on the path to morphological inflection through internal restructuring.[38] Such instances of analogical change are common in language change (§1.1.3.1). Though analogical extension is at core a language-internal process of morphological restructuring, it is also possible for it to interact with e.g. borrowed morphology. This incipient change is therefore attributable to both external factors (here, contact from French) and internal factors (analogical change), i.e. multiple causation (Mougeon & Beniak 1991, cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988, Jones & Esch 2002, see §1.1.1). Language contact and internal change produce grammatical innovation which causes the creole to diverge from its lexifier. Decreolization allows for neither the interaction between language-internal and language-external factors, nor the resultant divergence of the creole from its lexifier.

4.2.1.5.2.2. Emergent gender in TLC

The category of gender in TLC is normally expressed in ways which resemble the grammar of French (barring those in §4.2.1.5.2.1), resulting in indefinite and possessive determiners inflected for gender and the borrowing of a third person singular feminine pronoun (§4.2.1.5.1). This certainly

[38] Given the endangered status of LC it is unlikely that these changes will proliferate over subsequent generations.

suggests straightforward decreolization. A closer look at the specifics of this case, however, demonstrates that decreolization does not capture details of this language change-in-progress. In fact, processes of language-internal restructuring (in hypercorrect forms, §4.2.1.5.2.1) and possible reinforcement from English (in the case of *èl,* §4.2.1.5.1) suggest that the gender system in LC is in some ways divergent to that of French, though this divergence in its early stages.

This emergent gender system is highly variable. LC nouns are sometimes assigned the opposite gender to that of their French equivalent, e.g. *la bonn franse* 'the (f.) good (f.) French' (T2017GT; T2017CF; also attested in Plaquemines LC, see Klingler & Dajko 2006: 23; cf. Fr. *le bon français* 'the (m.) good (m.) French'), *diferant langaj* 'different (f.) language' (T2017PB; cf. Fr. *langage different* 'different (m.) language'), *ma frèr* 'my (f.) brother' (T2017LW; cf. Fr. *mon frère* 'my (m.) brother').

Surprisingly, possessive determiners modifying nouns referring to female family members were not marked as feminine, e.g. *mo moman* (POSS.1S mother), *mo tant* (POSS.1S aunt), *mo granmoman* (POSS.1S grandmother), *mo sœr* (POSS.1S sister). Overall, nouns referring to family members were found to be amongst the least stable semantic categories with regard to gender assignment. Some speakers had metalinguistic awareness of this phenomenon (4.54).

(4.54)

Na	*du*	*monnd*	*alentour*	*ki*	*nou*	*te*	*narguman:*
EXS	PART	person	around	REL	1PL	PST	argue:

'Vyeu Mòm'?	*Sa*	*deve*	*dèt*	***'Vyey Mòm'.***
'**old.M Mom?**	That	should	be.INF	'**old.F Mom**'

"There were some people around [our neighbourhood] who we argued with [because we called our grandmother 'Old.M Mom']. [They said:] 'Old.M Mom'? It should be 'Old.F Mom'. (T2017GT)

The particularities of the case of kinship terms such as these may be attributable to a frequency effect, such as the much-disputed claim that high-frequency items are more resistant to change (in Bybee 2015:102). This phenomenon may also be due to the proximity of this semantic class to proper nouns such as *Mòm* or *Moman* ('Mother') and *Grandmoman* ('Grandmother'). Kinship terms in language contact contexts represent an underexamined object of study. For example, Nguyen (2018) shows that kinship terms in Vietnamese-English mixed speech cannot be definitively classed as borrowings or code-switches. She suggests that analysts should examine community-specific norms of language acquisition and variation which regulate the usage of these highly socially-meaningful items and may override linguistic considerations. This merits further investigation. The case of

kinship terms supports the results of the quantitative analysis in §4.2.1.3.2 and §4.2.1.4.2 by showing that gender must have emerged as a result of grammatical change over time rather than the straightforward introduction of 'new forms' first assumed in the Bickertonian model of decreolization (§1.2.3).

How to describe TLC's emergent gender system in its entirety remains an open question. It is not clear whether the emergent system is (a) a fully-fledged masculine-feminine system as in French (i.e. POSS.M vs. POSS.F), or, (b) a system of one default gender onto which an optional feminine gender is being imposed (POSS vs. POSS(.F)). In system (a), any utterance where a 'masculine' modifier occurs with a 'feminine' noun would be ungrammatical, e.g. **mo vye mezon* 'my.M old.M house.F'. However, as evidenced by the variability in the diachronic analysis earlier in this section, ample examples of such utterances occur in the LCDC. In no metalinguistic conversation or elicitation session did any speaker reject such utterances as ungrammatical, even in the rare cases where they may have displayed some metalinguistic intuition that such forms are less French-like as in (4.54).

What in French is a masculine possessive determiner therefore corresponds in TLC to a default determiner, i.e. an uninflected form that can modify any noun without a change in meaning or grammaticality. It is therefore more accurate to characterize the emergent gender system as option (b) above: feminine gender is being imposed onto a grammar which, until now, has shown no signs of gender agreement. This synchronic analysis fits well with diachronic observations: OLC had no gender agreement, and Vacherie MLC—due to less contact with French—preserves this system. Meanwhile, intensive contact between French and TLC has resulted in the gradual emergence of a feminine gender in that variety. The TLC system is highly unstable: many speakers maintain the original system of default gender, occasionally fall back on it, and none recognize utterances without gender agreement as ungrammatical. The gender system therefore represents both the introduction of 'new forms' (the possessive determiners themselves) and 'new functions' (gender agreement), contradicting the Bickertonian maxim for decreolization outlined in §1.2.3.2.

4.2.1.5.2.3. Interaction between gender and number

Synchronic and diachronic data suggest that the emergence of gender agreement is dependent on the prior emergence of number agreement. Number emerges first in the diachronic corpus and, synchronically, is well-established across lines of racial segregation (§4.2.1.1.2). Gender is far less established synchronically and seems to have emerged later (§4.2.1.2.2, §4.2.1.3.2). An

important generalization can be made across the LCDC: speakers who have agreement for gender all have agreement for number, but not vice versa (Figure 22).

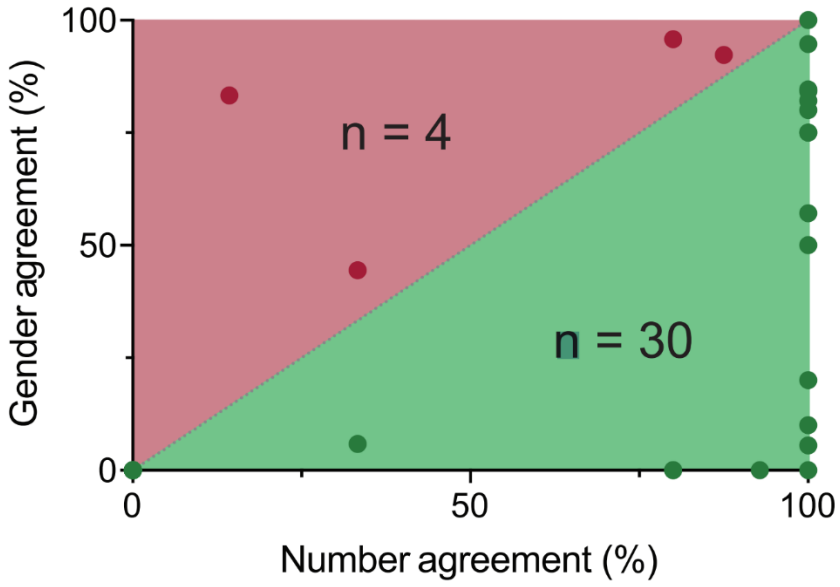

Figure 22. Proportion of number agreement against gender agreement (possessive determiners) for all speakers in the LCDC. Speakers in green display higher proportions of number agreement than gender agreement (possessive determiners). Of the 4 speakers who do not conform to this generalization, only 1 does so by a significant margin.

The trend in Figure 22 conforms to synchronic and diachronic approaches which posit the primacy of number agreement over gender. The emergence of gender over time is intimately tied to number agreement: gender provides particularized perspective on the group of entities in question, it 'clarifies the quality of the quantity' (Weber 2000:506; see also Corbett 1991, 2000). The development of gender is contingent on the development of number as evident in historical-linguistic data (Unterbeck 2000:xxxiv) and creolization (Neumann-Holzschuh 2006:266). This diachronic explanation is supported by synchronic typological evidence, as expressed in Greenbergian Universal No. 36: 'If a language has gender, it always has the category of number' (see Greenberg 1980).

In the case of LC, although the proliferation of gender and number agreement is certainly induced through contact with French, this change cannot be said to be proceeding in a creole-specific fashion. Instead, the emergence of number and gender agreement is constrained by language-internal pathways attested in creoles and non-creoles alike.

4.2.2. Definiteness and the determiner system

4.2.2.1. Agglutinated nouns

4.2.2.1.1. Introduction

Before turning to the specifics of the LC definite determiner system, it is necessary to examine one important process which may have resulted in the restructuring of the definite determiner system. Agglutinated nouns are a well-attested feature of French-lexifier creoles, deriving from a reanalysis of word boundaries during creolization: French determiners are reanalyzed as part of the noun, e.g. *en latab* ('a table', < Fr. *la table*). This phenomenon is not exclusive to creole languages, e.g. Modern French *lendemain* < Middle French *l'endemain* (Rickard 1974 in Syea 2017:24).

In LC, agglutination is less stable than in other French-lexifier creoles, exhibiting widespread variation between speakers and within the speech of a single speaker (Klingler 2003a:160). This variation is the focus of this section. Neumann (1985a:150ff.) classifies agglutinated nouns in TLC into four classes: those with beginning with *d*, *l*-, *n*- and *z*-stems (see Morgan 1959 and Klingler 2003a for slightly different typologies).

Table 22. Typology of agglutinated nouns in LC (adapted from Neumann 1985a:150ff.)

Agglutinated form	Variant(s)	Gloss
***n*-stem**		
nom	*lom*	'man'
narb	*larb*, *zarb*	'tree'
niver	*liver*	'winter'
nam	*lam*	'soul'
***l*-stem**		
louvraj	*nouvraj*	'work'
lekrevis	*krevis*	'crawfish'
***d*-stem**		
dife	*fe*	'fire'
dolo, *dilo*, *dlo*	*lo*	'water'
ditren	*tren*	'argument'
***z*-stem**		
zafer	*lafer*, *nafer*	'thing'
zistwar	*listwar*	'story'
zeskalye	*leskalye*	'staircase'
zerb	*lerb*	'grass'

Variation is particularly pronounced for *n*-stem and *l*-stem nouns, according to Neumann (1985a:155). Variation occurs within even a single utterance and appears unsystematic. *L*-stem nouns with the agglutinated element /la-/ (e.g. *lamezon* 'house') display the most variation to the extent that the

agglutinated element is completely optional: (*la*)*tèt* 'head'; (*la*)*vwa* 'voice'; (*la*)*men* 'hand'; (*la*)*grèg* 'coffee pot' (Neumann 1985a:155).

This section concentrates on this class of *l*-stem agglutinated nouns, which have played a significant role in restructuring of the LC definite determiner system (§4.2.2.5). Agglutinated nouns in the diachronic corpus are counted by normalized frequency, a metric common in corpus studies (McEnery & Hardie 2012). Normalized frequency is derived by dividing the raw frequency by the total number of tokens in that sample (here, per speaker), multiplied by a standardizing weight (1,000). To avoid over-inflating the sample, I do not analyze cases which are ambiguous as to whether the noun is agglutinated (4.55a) or preceded by a definite determiner identical to the agglutinated element (4.55b).

(4.55a)

Se	*Li*	*ki*	*travay*	*a*	***lamezon***
EX	3S	REL	work	at	house[AGG-L][39]

(4.55b)

Se	*li*	*ki*	*travay*	*a*	***la***	***mezon***
EX	3S	REL	work	at	DEF	house

'She's the one who works at the house.'
(T2017GB)

[39] [AGG-X] indicates an agglutinated noun, where X denotes the class according Table 22.

4.2.2.1.2. Analysis

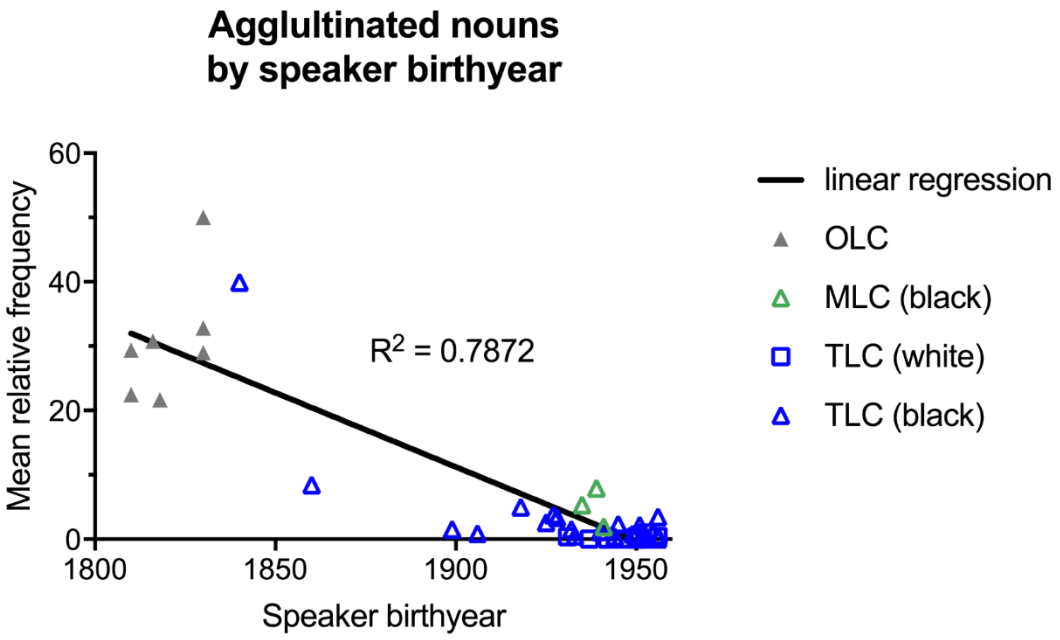

Figure 23. Mean relative frequency of agglutinated nouns by speaker birthyear (linear regression)

The broad diachronic picture shows a pronounced downward trend in the frequency of agglutinated elements in the LCDC over time (Figure 23). OLC exhibits extensive noun agglutination: as Fortier (1884: 158) reported, the 'invariable agglutination of the article to the noun.' The writers of OLC texts often choose to write the agglutinated element separated from the noun itself, though whether a noun is agglutinated or not is determinable from the context, e.g. in (4.56) where the noun is preceded by an indefinite determiner. Examples of each class of agglutinated nouns are given in (4.57-4.59) below, along with a total number of OLC tokens.

***d*-stem**

N_{OLC} = 250

(4.56)

en haut	*ein*	*di bois*
on	INDEF	tree[AGG-D]

'on a tree'

(FOT15)

***l*-stem**

N_{OLC} = 868

(4.57)

dans	*so*	*la maison*
in	3S	house[AGG-L]

'in his house'

(FOT02)

***n*-stem**

N_{OLC} = 194
(4.58)
en haut *n'épaule* *Compair Taureau*
on shoulder[AGG-N] Compère Taureau
'on Compère Taureau's shoulder'
(FOT02)

z-stem
N_{OLC} = 205
(4.59)
ein *zaffaire*
INDEF thing[AGG-Z]
'a thing'
(FOT03)

Agglutinated nouns are common in OLC, with the class of *l*-stem agglutinated nouns by far the most frequent (4.57). Documentation of Early TLC corroborates findings from the LCDC (Figure 23), showing agglutinated to be common even when the noun in question is modified by a pre-posed indefinite article (4.60), possessive pronoun (4.61) or post-posted determiner *-la* (4.62).

(4.60)
ɛ̃ *gro* *dife*
INDEF large fire[AGG-D]
'A big fire'
(Lane 1935:10)

(4.61)
dɔ̃ *so* *lamezɔ̃*
In 3.POSS house[AGG-L]
'In his house'
(Broussard 1942:7)

(4.62)
la*af-la* *vek* *sa* *to* *kupe* *nab-la*
axe[AGG-L]-DEF with REL 2S cut tree[AGG-N]-DEF
'The axe with which you cut the tree.'
(Broussard 1942:9)

Examples such as (4.60-4.62) seem to decline sharply after the mid-20th century (Figure 23), with the emergence of a highly unstable system in TLC (cf. Morgan 1959:24a, Neumann 1985a:149ff.).[40]

[40] According Morgan's data, agglutinated *n*-stem in such nouns appear to be reanalyzed as part of the indefinite determiner, meaning that the initial /n/ is lost when the noun is modified by a pre-posed definite determiner *l* (/ɛ̃nɔm/ 'a man' > /lɔm/ 'the man' (Morgan 1959:24a).

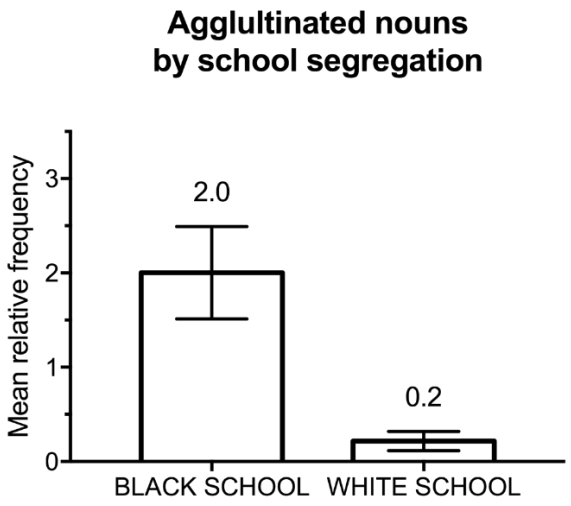

Figure 24. Relative frequency of agglutinated nouns by speaker school segregation. Between-groups difference is significant at p = 0.001 (Mann Whitney).

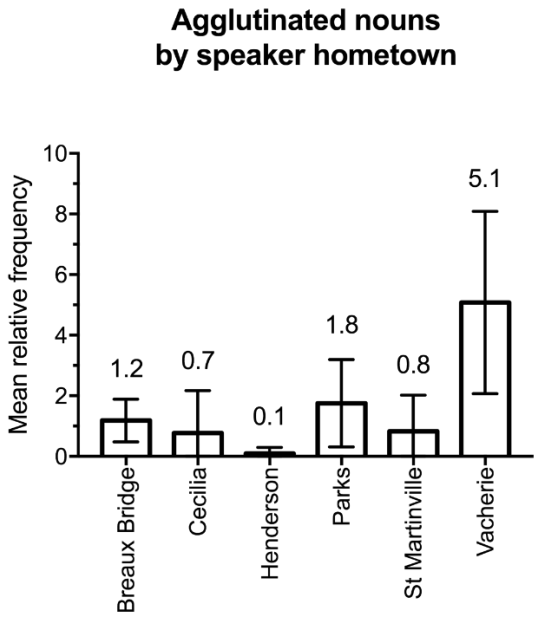

Figure 25. Relative frequency of agglutinated nouns in the synchronic corpus, by hometown. Difference between MLC and TLC is significant at p = 0.0049 (Mann Whitney).

In Contemporary LC, there is significant variation based on racial segregation (Figure 24) and regional variety (Figure 25). Black speakers use agglutinated nouns significantly more than white speakers, who barely use them at all (Figure 24). The frequency of agglutinated nouns in Vacherie MLC is highly variable across speakers but on average the frequency is almost double that in TLC (Figure 25).

These findings square with observations made in documentation of other varieties of MLC. Klingler (2003a:160) counts 42 nouns in TLC (data from Neumann 1985a) which have an agglutinated syllable; his own corpus has 180. Klingler's description of the Pointe Coupee MLC suggests that, as in TLC, there is some variation in agglutinated nouns of all kinds, and especially for *l*-stem noun: 'some nouns occur regularly with agglutinated *la-* [...], other occur at least as often without it' (Klingler 2003a:162). Pointe Coupee MLC also features a class of agglutinated nouns not recorded by Neumann (1985a). These nouns feature an agglutinated element /le/: e.g. *lefey* 'leaf', *lefwa* 'liver', *letwal* 'spider's web' (Klingler 2003a:165). Overall, variation of agglutinated nouns in Pointe Coupee MLC seems to be less pronounced than in TLC and similar to that in the Vacherie MLC data.[41]

[41] Marshall (1991) does not make note of the status of agglutinated nouns in MLIC. However, Klingler & Dajko (2006:20n14) observe that nouns modified by possessive pronouns retain the agglutinative element, which they take as indicative of MLIC bearing a stronger resemblance to OLC. Examination of Carriere & Viator (ms.) shows that St Tammany LC also features several agglutinated nouns, which behave much as Klingler & Dajko describe.

4.2.2.1.3. Summary

In all, the stability of agglutination in OLC and Early TLC has given way to extensive variation in TLC today. MLC tends to conform more to the OLC system, as evidenced above, though some variation is present there too.

Contact with French is certainly the major factor leading to this divergence. This does not preclude one language-internal motivation for the maintenance of the agglutinated elements in MLC, their possible functional role as noun markers suggested by Klingler, Picone & Valdman (1997:165). When agglutinated nouns are verbalized, the agglutinated element is lost: *ladrag* 'dragline' > *drage* 'fish with a dragline'; *lakòd* 'cord of wood' > *kòrde* 'make a cord of wood'; *deklou* 'nail (n.)' > *klue* 'nail (v.)'. This may suggest agglutinated elements have some morphemic function as a noun marker, though this requires much further investigation (cf. Klingler 2003a:167f.). If agglutinated elements perform or have performed this function in MLC, they certainly no longer have this function in TLC, where agglutination is now the exception rather than the norm.

4.2.2.2. Definite plural determiner

4.2.2.2.1. Introduction

This section compares the usage of two pluralization strategies for LC nominals. OLC, like many French-lexifier creoles, exhibits bare plural nouns (4.63). A second strategy comprises the post-posed plural determiner *-ye*, the focus of this section. In OLC *-ye* is usually combined with nouns with a specific discourse referent (cf. Neumann 1985a:116), as in (4.64) where 'eggs' is specific but not definite. Third, in OLC *-ye* is sometimes combined with the post-posed definite determiner *-la* (analyzed in §4.2.2.4), as in (4.65), where 'eggs' is [+definite] and [+specific].

(4.63)	*...ein*	*nique*	*hibou*	*qui*	*gagnin*	***dézef;***	*t*	*a*	*prend*	*trois*	*dans*	*nique-la*
	INDEF	nest	owl	REL	have.VL	**egg[PL]**[42]	2S	FUT	take	three	in	nest-DEF
	'...an owl's nest which has eggs; you'll take three [eggs] [from those] in the nest' (FOT02)											

(4.64)	*Compair Lapin,*	*qui*	*montré*	*li*	*ou*	***dézef-yé***	*té*
	Compère Lapin	REL	show.VL	3S	where	**egg-PL**	COP.PST
	'Compère Lapin, who showed him where **eggs** were.' (FOT02)						

[42] The gloss [PL] indicates a noun understood to be plural based on discourse context.

(4.65) *Li dit li ça pou fait avec **dézef-la-yé**.*
3S say 3S CMPZ to do **with** **egg-DEF-PL**
'He told him what to do with **the eggs**.'
(FOT02)

In both MLC (cf. Klingler 2003a:172ff.) and TLC, an alternative strategy of plural marking has emerged: the determiner *le* (< Fr. *les*) which occurs before the noun.[43] Unlike its French etymon, LC *le* can mark a plural noun regardless of its definiteness (4.63-4.65) (see §4.2.2.3.1). The variation between *N-ye* and *le N* is the focus of this section.[44]

4.2.2.2.2. Analysis

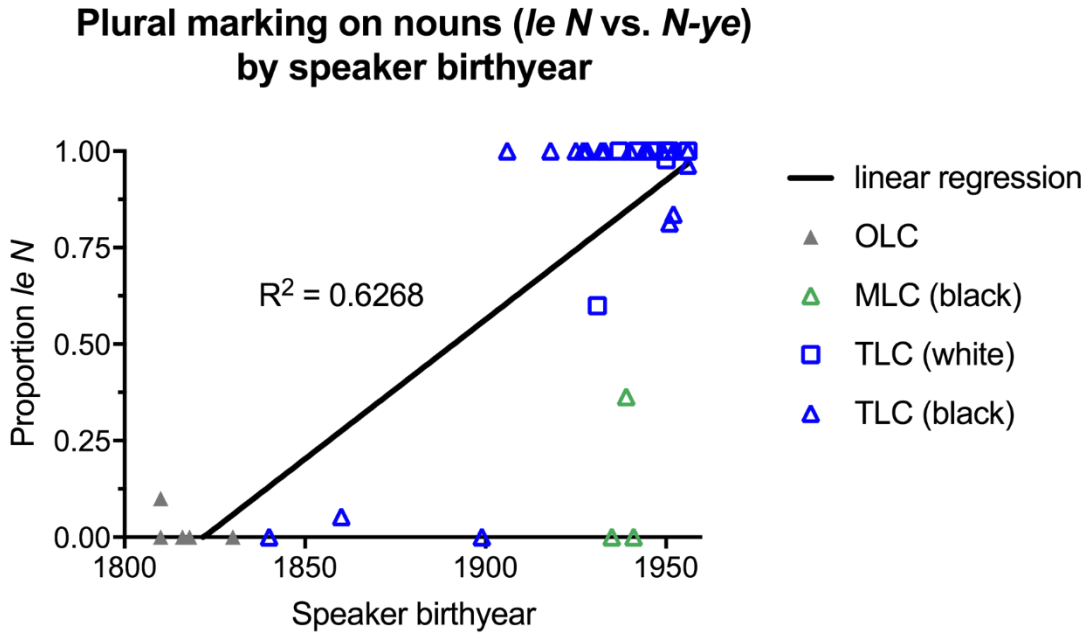

Figure 26. Plural marking on nouns across the diachronic corpus by speaker birthyear (linear regression).

There has been a rapid shift from the OLC post-positional strategy *N-ye* (1, 2, 3) towards the prepositional strategy *le N* (Figure 26). Just a single instance of the latter is attested in OLC (4.66).

(4.66)
*Li enlevé la mousse et **les** briques qui té fermé trou-la.*
3S lift moss and **LE** brick[PL] REL PST close hole-DEF.
'He lifted off the moss and bricks which covered the hole.'
(FO1894V)

[43] Not to be confused with either of the French determiners *les* and *le*. See §4.2.2.3. for a full analysis of LC *le*.
[44] *Le* is also found in lexicalized phrases, chiefly with *tou* ('all'), *ot* ('other') and *fwa* ('times'), which were excluded from this analysis, e.g. <*tous les jous*> ('every day', FOT15), <*lé zotte*> ('the others', FOT15), <*les otes fois*> ('other times', FOT15). Likewise, plural possessive determiner phrases of the kind examined in §4.2.1.1. were excluded, as *-ye* in this context is not in complementary distribution with *le*. A possessive determiner and a pre-posed definite determiner cannot both modify a noun in LC, **mo le tomat* [1S.POSS DEF tomato] for 'my tomatoes' (*contra* Neumann 1985a, see §4.4.2.1.1.4).

Early TLC conforms to its OLC progenitor, using *-ye* to mark plural definite nouns as in (4.67). Likewise, Early TLC text TP contains 2 occurrences of a structure resembling *-la-ye* (4.68, 4.69).

(4.67)

*kɔ̃ buki wa **mutɔ̃-je** …*
when Bouki see **sheep-PL**
'When Bouki saw **the sheep**…'
(DU01)

(4.68)
*ɛ̃ fwa li vole ɛ̃ so **kɔk** **le** **je***
one time 3S steal one 3S.POSS cockerel[PL] DEF PL
'Once, he stole one of his cockerels.'
(TP08)

(4.69)
***mun** **le** **je** ʒete plɛ̃ brɔ̃ʃ nab*
person DEF PL throw full branch tree
'The people threw many tree branches…'
(TP09)

By the late- to mid- 20th century, this post-positional system was 'rare' in TLC (Morgan 1959:24d, Figure 26). Neumann (1985a:112ff.) reports a drastically restructured system, with *le* modifying definite (4.70a, 4.70b) as well as indefinite nouns (4.71a, 4.71b).

(4.70a)
***Le** vye moun parle en ta kreol.*
PL old person speak.VL INDEF heap creole
'The old people spoke a lot of Creole.'

(4.70b)
*… se **le** chawi e le ra.*
… PRES PL racoon and PL rat
'… it's the racoons and the rats'
(N85:112-113)[45]

[45] Unless otherwise specified, translations of glosses in Neumann (1985a) are mine from the LC original and not the French gloss.

(4.71a)
Nave ***le*** *kokodri.*
EX PL alligator
'There were alligators'

(4.71b)
Mo fe ***le*** *plarin avek* ***le*** *pakòn.*
1S make PL praline with PL pecan.
'I make pralines with pecans.'
(N85:113-114)

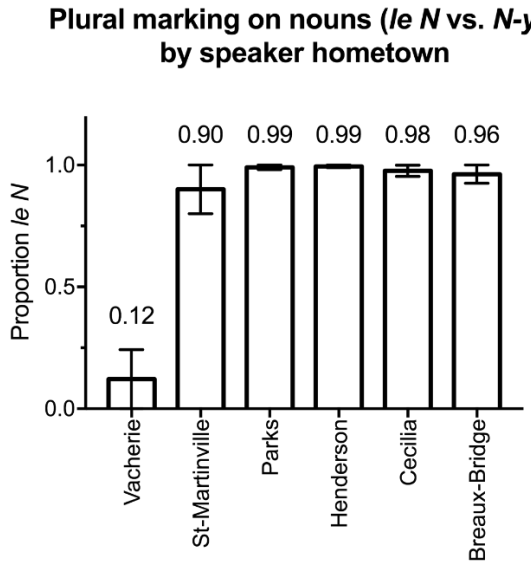

Figure 27. Proportion of pre-posed plural marking (le N) by speaker hometown. Difference between MLC and TLC is significant at p < .001 (Mann Whitney)

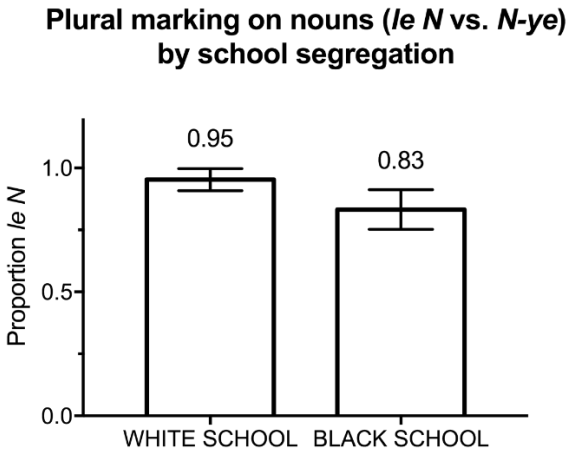

Figure 28. Proportion of pre-posed plural marking (le N) by school segregation. Between-groups difference not significant at p = .4401 (Mann Whitney)

Broadly stated, in Vacherie MLC, *N-ye* prevails, while in TLC this has been almost completely replaced by *le N* in both indefinite (4.72) and definite (4.73) contexts. Speaker hometown emerged as a significant predictor in the logistic regression (Table 64, Appendices). St Martinville is the only TLC-speaking settlement where there is any variation in this domain; even there, the mean proportion of this strategy is very high (0.90, Figure 27). In Vacherie MLC the mean proportion of pre-posed plural determiners is low (0.12, Figure 27). Further, all speakers in the Teche region make extensive usage of pre-posed determiners regardless of school segregation (

Figure 28). Overall, Vacherie MLC resembles St Tammany MLC (Carriere & Viator ms.) (4.74, 4.75), MLIC (Marshall 1991:77) and Pointe Coupee MLC (Klingler 2003a:172), where *-ye* has maintained its function as a plural determiner.

(4.72)
To bwa ***le*** *bwason epi* ***le*** *mèdtin.*
2S drink **LE** drink[PL] and **LE** medicine[PL]
'You drink drinks and medications.'
(T2017VL)

(4.73)
L ale koupe tou ***le*** *STAMP-la.*
3S FUT cut all **LE** <foodstamp>-DEF
'He's going to cut all the foodstamps.'
(T2017MY)

(4.74)
Li ole bon ***zouti.***
3S want good **tool[PL]**
'She wants good tools.'
(Carriere & Viator m.s.:37)

(4.75)
Li ole bon ***zouti-ye.***
3S want good tool-DEF.PL
'She wants the good tools'
(Carriere & Viator m.s.:37)

4.2.2.2.3. Summary

The quantitative analysis of noun pluralization strategies reveals a substantial divide between TLC and MLC. Across all settlements in the Teche region, and regardless of racial segregation, all speakers make use of the *le N* strategy, and *N-ye* constructions appear infrequently. Despite *-ye* occurring in early TLC, by the end of the 20th century *-ye* was in the process of being replaced by *le* as the major pluralization strategy.

Despite the divergence between TLC and MLC, it is interesting to note the presence—though minimal—of pre-posed plural determiner *le* in Vacherie MLC, Pointe Coupee MLC (Klingler 2003a), Early TLC (1 token, DU) and OLC (4 tokens). Considered together, these data may point *le* already moving into a role as a pre-posed determiner before the divergence of TLC. Intensive contact with French must have reinforced this change in TLC, while in MLC the pre-posed determiner remained a marginal variant. As will be shown in §4.2.2.5., this change in TLC forms part of a wholesale restructuring of the determiner system.

4.2.2.3. Indefinite plural determiner

4.2.2.3.1. Introduction

Pre-posed plural determiner *le* is supplanting *-ye* as a pluralization strategy in TLC (§4.2.2.2). As mentioned in §4.2.2.2.2, *le* is underspecified for definiteness viz. it can modify indefinite (4.76, 4.77) and definite (4.78, 4.79) plural nouns (Neumann 1985a, Klingler 2003a).

(4.76)
Vou *gen* ***le*** ***frè*** *e* ***le*** ***sèr?***
2SFRM have **LE** **brother**[**PL**] and **LE** **sister**[**PL**]
'Do you have brothers and sisters?'
(TK03:172)

(4.77)
Yé *bézwin* ***le*** *nwar.*
3PL need **LE** **Black**[**PL**].
'They need Black people.'
(N85:110)

(4.78)
Le *machin* *pran* *tou* *nouvraj-la.*
LE **machine**[**PL**] take all work-DEF.
'The machines take all the work'
(TK03:175)

(4.79)
Li *fini* *monje* ***le*** ***pakòn.***
3S finish eat **LE** **pecan**[**PL**].
'He finished eating the pecans'
(N85:110)

In its function as an indefinite plural determiner, *le* is in competition with *de* for some speakers (Neumann 1985a:114), which is the focus of this section. Like its French etymon *des,* LC *de* has a partitive function (Lane 1935:11, Neumann 1985a:114n4), also found in OLC (4.80). All occurrences of *de* in partitive contexts have been removed in order to ensure like-for-like comparison between indefinite plural marking strategies.

(4.80)
...dé *ver* *sorti* *dans* *la terre* *et* *grimpé* *en haut* *yé*
DE worm go out in earth and climb onto 3PL
'...the worms come out of the grass and climb on them'
(FOT03)

4.2.2.3.2. Analysis

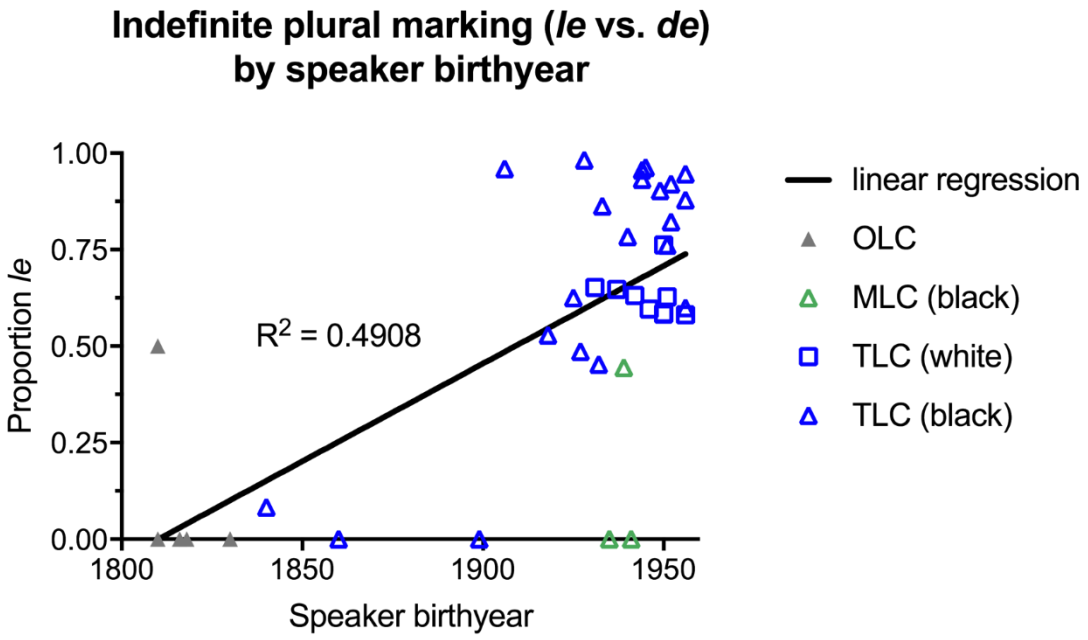

Figure 29. Proportion of pre-posed plural determiner le *over* de *by speaker birthyear* (*linear regression*).

OLC overwhelmingly favours post-postional plural determiner *-ye*, and there is only 1 token attested for *le* (§4.2.2.2.). Likewise, there are just 15 tokens for *de* in the OLC data. This accounts for the low proportion of *le* visible in Figure 29. Early TLC resembles OLC in this respect. In the pre-posed determiner system of TLC, there seems to be a preference for *le*.

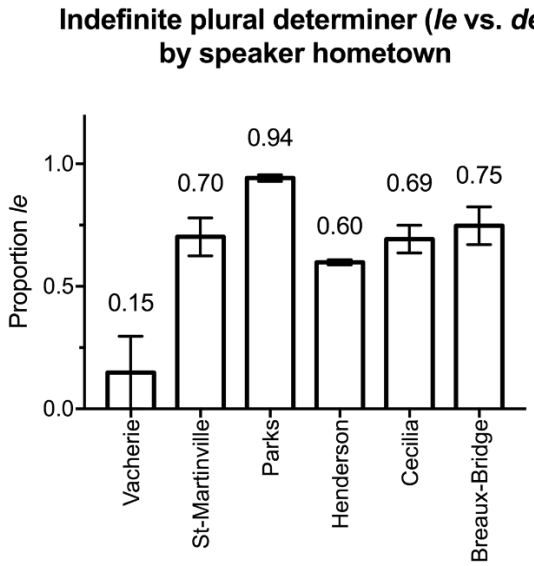

Figure 30. Proportion of pre-posed indefinite plural determiner le *over* de *by speaker hometown. Difference between MLC and TLC is significant at* $p < 0.05$ (*Mann Whitney*)

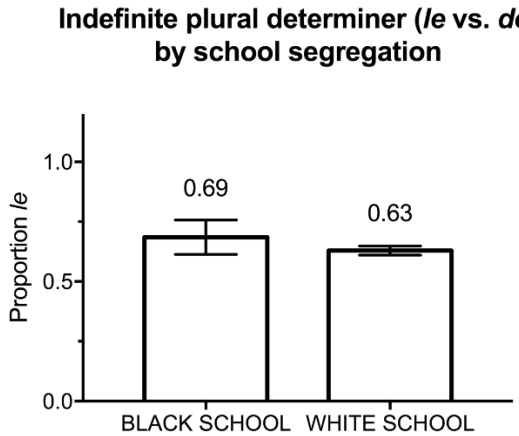

Figure 31. Proportion of pre-posed indefinite plural determiner le over de by school segregation. Between-groups difference is not significant at $p > 0.05$ (*Mann Whitney*)

In the logistic regression, speaker hometown is selected as the significant predictor for synchronic variation (Table 66, Appendices), with Vacherie displaying a different pattern to the towns in the Teche region (Figure 30). Vacherie MLC differs significantly from TLC (Figure 30), unsurprising given the former's preference for a post-posed plural marking with *-ye* rather than *le* (§4.2.2.2.2).

Within the Teche region, settlements differ in their usage of *de*. Henderson overall displays the lowest proportion of *le* at 59%, meaning that *le* and *de* vary quite freely here. Henderson is a majority-white settlement populated by the descendants of *swampeurs* (see §2.2.2.2.1). The results from Henderson thus do not fit with observations in Neumann (1985a:114n) that white speakers maintain a functional distinction between *le* and *de*. Indeed, racial segregation did not emerge as significant in quantitative analysis (Figure 31). This suggests that any functional distinction between *le* and *de* has begun to erode further since Neumann (1985a), lost even amongst white creolophones.

A point of triangulation comes from MN, an outlier in the Vacherie MLC sample (Figure 29). MN, who has been exposed to the French of France (see §4.2.1.2.3), uses both *le* and *de*, apparently in free variation ($n_{le} = 4$, $n_{de} = 5$, proportion *le* = 0.44; see Table 65, Appendices). that intensive contact with French suffices to promote the emergence of these determiners, and the loss of functional distinctions between them, even in a variety which favours post-positional determiners.

4.2.2.3.3. Summary

The rise of *le* is the result of French influence, and thus a suitable candidate for a decreolization-type change (to be discussed in §4.2.2.5). The indefinite plural sense of *de* may have been present in OLC and Early TLC, suggesting that a conflation of its partitive and indefinite senses may have occurred early on, through e.g. semantic bleaching. However, with so few tokens and no supporting evidence in the literature it is difficult to draw this conclusion with much certainty. What is clear is that, in contemporary TLC, there has been a loss of the functional distinction between *le* and *de* reported by Neumann (1985a:114). Overall, TLC now favours *le* as the pre-posed plural determiner for definite (§4.2.2.2) and indefinite contexts.

4.2.2.4. Definite singular determiner

4.2.2.4.1. Introduction

French-lexifier creoles typically exhibit a post-positional strategy for marking definite nouns (cf. post-posed plural determiner *-ye,* §4.2.2.2). In OLC, singular definite nouns are canonically marked with the element *-la* (4.81, 4.82). In TLC, Neumann (1985a) reports that *-la*, like *-ye* (see §2.1.1.),

is being replaced by a set of pre-posed determiners: masculine singular *l(œ)*[46] (DEF.M) (4.83) and feminine singular *la* (DEF.F) (4.84).

(4.81)
*Li mandé madame-**la** pou prend li.*
3S ask lady-**DEF** for take 3S.
'He asked the lady to take him.'
(FOT02)

(4.82)
*... et n'homme-**la** tournin taureau encore.*
... and man-**DEF** turn bull again
'And the man turned back into a bull.'
(FOT02)

(4.83)
*Ye se fou li don **l** trou*
3PL COND throw 3S in **DEF.M** hole
'They could throw it in the hole.'

(4.84)
***La** fiy vini reste avek mwa isi*
DEF.F girl come stay with 1S.OBJ here
'The girl came to live with me here.'
(N85:56)

Neumann notes that *-la* has acquired a new meaning, 'une valeur sémantique intermédiaire entre celle de l'article défini et celle du déterminant démonstratif,'[47] (Neumann 1985a:57). This analysis concentrates on the distribution of *-la* relative to pre-posed determiners, revisiting the new function of *-la* in §4.2.2.5 where the results of this analysis are considered in wider theoretical perspective.

[46] Pre-posed singular definite determiner *l* /l/ is often followed by a vowel, [ə] [ø] [œ]. For more details on the phonological status of these vowels, see Chapter 5.
[47]'an intermediate semantic value between that of the definite article and that of the demonstrative determiner'

4.2.2.4.2. Analysis

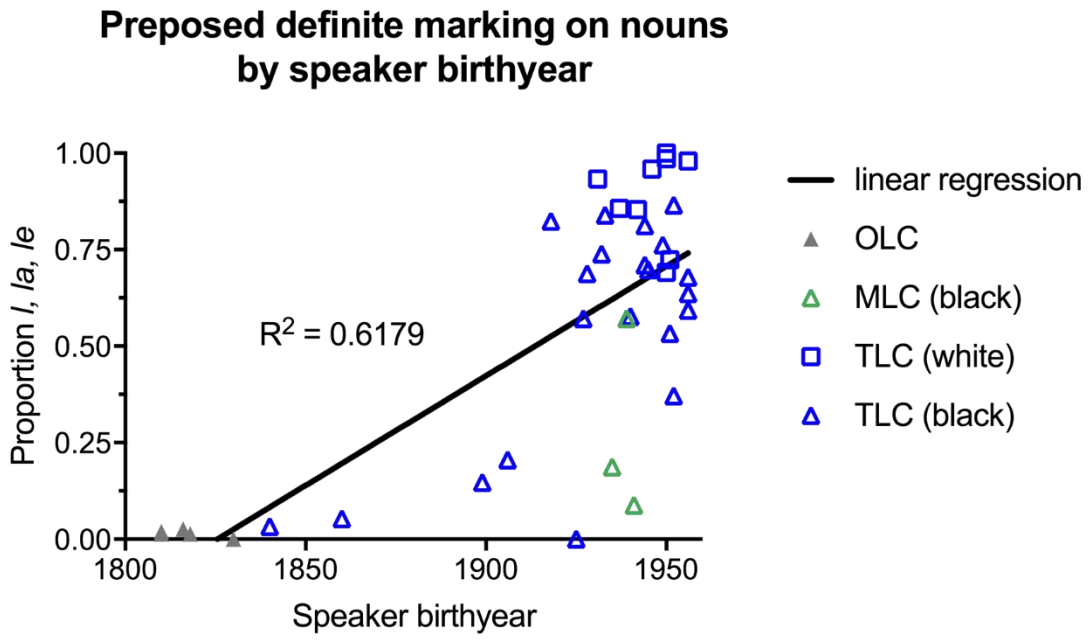

Figure 32. Definite determiners across the diachronic corpus by speaker birthyear.

OLC and Early TLC display almost no pre-posed definite determiners (Figure 32). By the time of Neumann (1985a), TLC came to features a strong preference for *l/la* over *-la*. Morgan's data suggest a transitionary stage between these two points: pre-posed determiners—he reports *la* DEF.F, *lè* DEF.M, *le* DEF.PL)—and the 'definitival suffix' *-la* both express definiteness (Morgan 1959:24a). A multiple logistic regression performed on LC data shows three significant predictors for the synchronic variation between pre-posed definite determiners *vs.* the post-posed definite marker: school segregation, speaker hometown and language exposure (Table 68, Appendices).

Vacherie MLC conforms to the OLC preference for post-posed determiners, while TLC displays a substantive preference for pre-posed determiners (Figure 34). White speakers show a preference for pre-posed definite determiners, while black speakers tend more towards free variation (Figure 33). Finally, speakers with exposure to French (either LF or RF) exhibit a higher average proportion of pre-posed definite determiners, exhibiting slight variation (Figure 35).

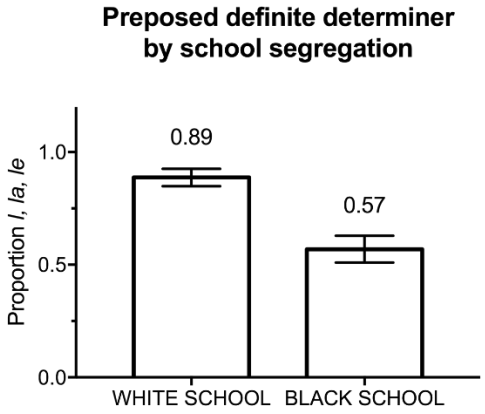

Figure 33. Proportion of pre-posed definite determiners by speaker school segregation. Between-groups difference is significant at p < .001 (Mann Whitney)

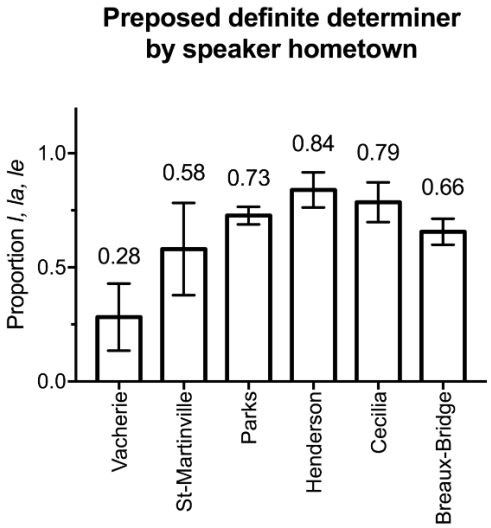

Figure 34. Proportion of pre-posed definite determiners by speaker hometown. Difference between MLC and TLC is significant at p = .013 (Mann Whitney).

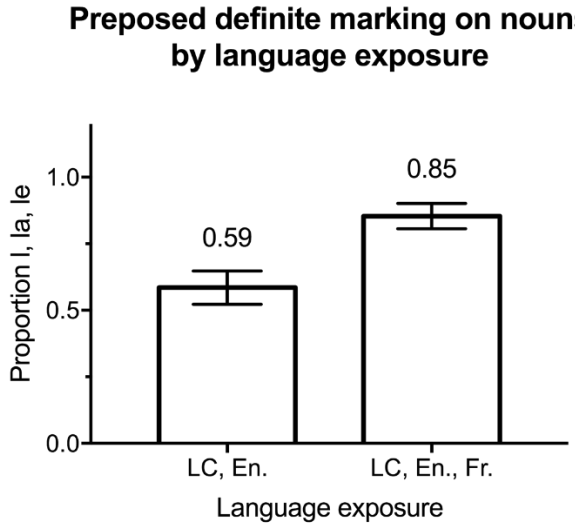

Figure 35. Proportion of pre-posed definite determiners by speaker language exposure. Between-groups difference is significant at p < 0.05 (Mann Whitney

4.2.2.4.3. Summary

The definite singular determiner conforms to the pattern shown throughout this section, namely that TLC has incorporated the French-origin feature while Vacherie MLC maintains the OLC system. White speakers, as expected, exhibit more pre-posed definite determiners than black speakers. Here, exposure to French also appears to predict usage of pre-posed definite determiners. All of these sociolinguistic factors accord with decreolization; consideration of language-internal factors suggests a more complex picture.

4.2.2.5. Discussion: Definiteness and the Determiner Phrase

TLC's shift from a post-posed to a pre-posed definite determiner system was first analyzed by Neumann (1985a) and represents a far-reaching change in the configuration of that variety's DP. The change from a post-posed to a pre-posed determiner system is a typical decreolization-type change whereby the creole adverges to its lexifier through the adoption of 'new forms'. As Neumann (1985a:58) recognizes, this change constitutes a movement away from the prototypical creole system outlined in Bickerton (2016 [1981]), where post-posed determiners mark nouns for specificity. TLC is well on the way to adopting a system near-identical to that of French whereby both definite and indefinite nouns are marked using a set of pre-posed determiners (§4.2.2.2, §4.2.2.3, §4.2.2.4).

There is little doubt that these determiners are French in origin, and the outcome of their adoption is that LC adverges to French in this domain. However, this outcome does not preclude the mediation of this change by language-internal factors. The overhaul of the LC definiteness system may result from an 'interplay' (Jones & Esch 2002) between language-internal and language-external factors. This account begins by examining the changing function of *-la* (§-LA), before moving on to examine the interaction between agglutinated nouns and pre-posed determiners.

4.2.2.5.1. The changing role of -la

Neumann (1985a, see §4.2.2.4.1), first noted that *-la* was acquiring a meaning somewhere between definiteness and deixis. Data from the LCDC show that *-la* is acquiring a discourse function. Example (4.85) demonstrates how *-la* can be used to foreground two contrasting discourse topics, the horse (*la chval-la*) and the cows (*le vach-la*) (emphasized in English translation with 'as for').

(4.85) *M a janme bliye sa tan m ap viv. Mo e mo frèr t ape RIDE chval e la* ***chval-la*** *monnyèr konm si li monnyèr konmbe. Mo tonmbe par tè o BLACKTOP laba o ON THE WAY GOING TO PARKS. THAT WAS LONG TIME AGO ME AND MY BROTHER RIDING THE HORSE. Epi le* ***vach-la*** *no te gen pou kouri chèrche difwen pou soupe le vach…*

I'll never forget it so long as I live. Me and my brother were riding a horse and then, **as for the horse-LA**, [she was] kind of bowlegged. I fell on the ground on the blacktop there on the way going to Parks. That was a long time ago, me and my brother riding the horse. And then, **as for the cows-LA**, we had to go find hay to feed the cows.
(T2017LD)

As (4.85) illustrates, when *-la* is combined with a noun, it does not necessarily mark it as singular, indicating a shift away from the usage described by Neumann (1985a:57). Further data show that *-la* can co-occur with the plural determiner *le* in its definite function (*le vach-la* 'as for the cows', 4.85), as well as with singular pre-posed definite determiners (4.86) (also reported in Morgan 1959).

(4.86)
La *mezon-la*
DEF.F house-LA
'As for the house…'
(T2017MM)

Further, *-la* may attach adverbs (4.87), object pronouns (4.88), Prepositional Phrases (4.89) and Complementizer Phrases (4.90, 4.91) and is therefore best analyzed as a clitic discourse marker. In examples (4.87)-(4.91), as in (4.85-4.86), *-la* marks discourse topic (TOP) rather than expressing definiteness.

(4.87)
Adverb:
Astèr-la
now=TOP
'As for now…'
(T2017MY)

(4.88)
Object pronoun:
Twa-la
2S.OBJ=TOP
'As for you…'
(T2017LM)

(4.89)
Prepositional Phrase:
Dan *vyeu* *tan-la …*
[in old time]=TOP
'As for in the old days…'
(T2017LA)

(4.90)
Complementizer Phrase:
[[*Kan* *sa* *se* *komanse* *fe* *en* *ti peu* *klèr*]-*la*] …
[[when DEM COND start do INDEF little bit clear]=TOP]
'[As for [when it would start to get a bit clear]] … '
(T2017LA)

(4.91)
[[*Sa* *ki* *sòrti* *gonn*]-*la*]
[COMPZ REL AUX go out]]=TOP
'[As for [the guy who just left]]'
(T2017MB)

Wiesinger (2017) analyzes *-la* in Guianan Creole in both synchronic and diachronic perspective, finding that it does not fulfil a function as purely a definite marker (Wiesinger 2017:426). Like Neumann's characterization of LC *-la*, Guianan *-la* occupies an intermediate space between deixis and definiteness. Additionally, Guianan *-la* also fulfils an important function in marking information structure, as shown for LC *-la* in this section.

Beyond LC and Guianan Creole, the discourse function of *-la* recalls the usage of its etymon *là* in diverse varieties of French where it serves not only a deictic function but also a wider discourse function. This includes the Franco-American French e.g. that of Van Buren, Maine (Smith 2006) Québecois (Vincent 1993), as in (4.92) where *là* marks predicate focus.

(4.92)
Il peut parler ***là*** *mais il y a gros de mots en anglais qu'il va sortir plus que nous-autres.*
'He *can speak* but he's gonna come out with a lot more English words than we do.'
(adapted from Smith 2006:384)

Though comparison between LC *-la* and LF *là* has not yet been undertaken, LC *là* likely behaves in similar fashion to its counterpart LF and other related Franco-American varieties (cf. Neumann-Holzschuh 2014, Neumann-Holzschuh & Mitko 2018:78f.), and this influence may be the source of the change in LC. However, usage of *là* in topic-focus constructions is not confined to North American French. For example, in the French of Abidjan, *là* also has a topic-focus function (Hattiger 1983:92), as it does in the emergent pidgin-creole offshoot of Abidjan French, Nouchi (Ahua 2009:146). Wiesinger (2017:437ff.) reviews similar cases from Acadian, Congolese and Gabonese French (cf. Neumann-Holzschuh & Mitko 2018:79).

These examples, and the case of Guianan, suggest that shift of LC *-la* from a definite determiner to a discourse marker involves a language-internal process of drifts, i.e. that the potential for *-la* to play a role in information structure rests in the internal configuration of the grammar (cf. Wiesinger 2017:439). The grammaticalization of demonstratives to discourse markers is not specific to French-related varieties. The characterization of *-la* at an intermediary point between definite and demonstrative determiner (Neumann 1985a:57) makes *-la* a candidate for the pathway DEMONSTRATIVE > TOPIC (Heine & Kuteva 2002:111). It is therefore likely that any change in the function of LC *-la* based on French *là* is reinforced by language-internal factors. Even if we accept that this change in the function of LC *-la* is the result of contact with French, this does not appear to be a straightforward example of decreolization. Despite the surface resemblance between LC *-la* and

the topic-focus function of French *-là*, a change on this basis is not predicted by Bickerton's maxim of 'new forms first and new functions later' in decreolization. In the case of *-la*, an 'old form' has taken on a 'new function'.

To do justice to its complexity, LC *-la* certainly merits a dedicated study as detailed as Wiesinger (2017) has conducted for Guianan, as well as comparison with Wiesinger's data. LC represents a particularly suitable candidate for such an investigation, since *-la* and because Wiesinger's corpus is similar in composition and size to the LCDC. Additionally, further work must address the similarities and differences between *-la* in LC and *-là* in LF and Acadian French (see Neumann-Holzschuh & Mitko 2018:78f.)

4.2.2.5.2. The restructuring of the Determiner Phrase

Finally, it is possible to sketch a trajectory for the restructuring of the LC DP, based on the analysis of definiteness in this section as well as the preceding analyses of number and gender agreement (§4.2.1). The pathway for this change begins with the reanalysis of agglutinated nouns motivated in turn by contact with French.

The loss of agglutination in TLC is attributable to the emergence of a fully-fledged pre-posed determiner system inducing reanalysis of agglutinated elements. Such a drastic restructuring has not yet taken place in MLC. A piece of linguistic evidence convincing in this regard is the absence of attested forms of a pre-posed definite determiner *la* + *l*-stem noun combinations (e.g. **la lamezon*). Instead, where the pre-posed definite determiner does occur, the agglutinated element does not (e.g. *la mezon*). Since the pre-posed definite determiner and the agglutinated element are identical in form, it is easy to see how the latter might be reanalyzed as an instance of the former. If this is the case, this may explain why *le-* is not found as an agglutinated element in TLC, since that use of *le* as a pre-posed plural determiner is very prevalent. It is likely that reanalysis of the agglutinated element *le-* as the pre-posed plural definite determiner *le* has reached its endpoint in TLC. Therefore, nouns of that class no longer occur with the agglutinated element in any context.

As shown in §4.2.2.1., there has been a dramatic diachronic decrease in the frequency of agglutinated nouns over the past two centuries. Speakers of Vacherie MLC, who have had less contact with French, use significantly more agglutinated nouns (§4.2.2.1.2). This provides a real-time control for the influence of French, demonstrating that this reanalysis was motivated by contact with the lexifier.

This reanalysis has occurred such that agglutinated elements in bare nouns are reanalyzed as determiners. This in turn provokes a wholesale reanalysis of definiteness in DP. The DP can no longer be headed by Ø (i.e. no bare nouns); instead, the head is an overt element (i.e. determiners *l, la, le*), viz. [$_{DP}$ [$_{D}$ Ø] [$_{NP}$ *lamezon*]] → [$_{DP}$ [$_{D}$ *la*] [$_{NP}$ *mezon*]] 'the house'. Post-posed determiners *-la* and *-ye* are not licensed as such double-marking of definiteness and number would be redundant: *[$la_{DEF.SG}$ *mezon-*$la_{DEF.SG}$] → [$la_{DEF.SG}$ *mezon*] 'the house'; *[le_{PL} *mezon-*ye_{PL}] → [le_{PL} *mezon*] 'the houses'. The post-posed determiner *-la* thus loses its role as a marker of definiteness, leaving it open to exaptation and grammaticalization in a discourse role (§4.2.2.5.2). Post-posed determiner *-ye* now marks DPs for number if and only if they are headed by a determiner *not* inflected for number, e.g. *mo mezon-ye* 'my houses'. In contexts where number is marked on the determiner head, *-ye* is redundant *[me_{PL} *mezon-*ye_{PL}] → [me_{PL} *mezon*] 'my houses'.

French-lexifier creoles typically feature post-nominal definite determiners (Kihm 2009:433). This configuration is at odds with some typological observations which suggest SVO languages, such as LC and other French-lexifier creoles, tend to feature pre-posed determiners (though this claim has been subject to much discussion, see e.g. Dryer 1992:103-104, 2009). LC's adoption of a pre-nominal determiner system could therefore be seen as an example of what Roberts (2007:350) terms 'parametric drift'. In other words, the LC Determiner Phrase was always poised to adopt pre-posed determiners for marking definiteness, which may explain both the rapid uptake of these elements over the course of the 20th century and the lack of variation within the sample of speakers exposed to French (see Figure 23 above). Further evidence for language-internal reinforcement for this change from the fact that LC—unlike e.g. Haitian Creole—has always featured pre-posed possessive determiners. Thus, the incorporation of French determiners into LC is not as exceptional as it seems initially and involves both language-external and language-internal factors.

4.3. Verbal domain

4.3.1. Verb forms

4.3.1.1. Long forms vs. short forms

4.3.1.1.1. Introduction

Contemporary LC is unusual amongst French-lexifier creoles in that it features limited verbal inflection (see Syea 2017 for a comparative overview of verbs in French-lexifier creoles). Some LC verbs have two verb forms (here, 'two-form verbs'): a 'long form' (e.g. *parle* 'speak') and 'a short form' (e.g. *parl*). A similar configuration is found in Réunnionais, where it is usually attributed to a

less intensive creolization process (see Holm 2004 for Réunnionais as a 'semi-creole'). In LC, following Neumann (1985a), the emergence of this system is attributed to post-creolization contact with French, viz. decreolization, whereby the short form has been derived from the long form in analogy to the French present tense (e.g. Fr. *parle*) resulting the emergence of inflectional morpheme *-e*.

According to the detailed overview in Neumann (1985a), in TLC the short form is used for verbs in the present tense, in the informal imperative, after auxiliary *ifo* ('necessary to'); the long form appears after pre-verbal TAM markers such as *te* and in all other contexts including the preterit. Klingler finds that the system in Pointe Coupee MLC is 'not governed by the same systematic rules as those that apply in [TLC]' (Klingler 2003a:236). Though the MLC two-form system functions broadly in the same way as that of TLC, it is significantly more variable: short forms are generally used when the verb occurs in the present; long forms are preferred in the preterit, following another verb and with TAM markers other than *te*. With the pre-verbal past marker *te*, short and long forms appear in free variation.

Verbs examined in this section were selected by combining those attested in Neumann (1985a:188ff; '*Les verbes de la classe I*') and Klingler (2003aa:242ff.; 'Verbs with multiple forms'). Table 69 (Appendices) shows the verbs analyzed here, along with English glosses and a total number of verbs in the contemporary TLC and MLC samples.

Rather than analyze the form of each verb token, concordance searches were performed within a controlled environment, after the preverbal anterior marker *te*. This strategy was motivated by two major considerations. First, as mentioned above, long and short forms occur in free variation when they directly follow *te* in Pointe Coupee MLC. This points to *te + V* as a point of diachronic instability in the development of the verbal paradigm and therefore makes a good target for investigation of whether any instability remains in TLC.

Second, methodologically speaking, adopting this more precise search window yields more accurate results than a catch-all frequency count of long and short forms. Such a count would risk several linguistic factors confounding the analysis.[48] Confining analyses to contexts *te + V* allows a maximally controlled environment for corpus searches and increases the replicability and

[48] Confounding factors include: (i) different tenses, differing in frequency across the corpus; (ii) position of the negator *pa*; (iii) multiple verb constructions; (iv) the presence or absence of >15 pre-verbal markers and auxiliaries whose roles in selecting for verb form are not well-understood.

comparability of the present study. Further work will be able to use this same environment and the list of verbs in). Table 69 (Appendices) to produce comparable results for different datasets.

Table 69 (Appendices) includes some high-frequency verbs which appear exceptional in their development. They are treated after the analysis in two case studies: *done* 'give' and *travaye* 'work' (§4.3.1.1.3), *gen* 'have', *kouri* 'go' and *vini* 'come' (§4.3.1.1.4).

4.3.1.1.2. Analysis

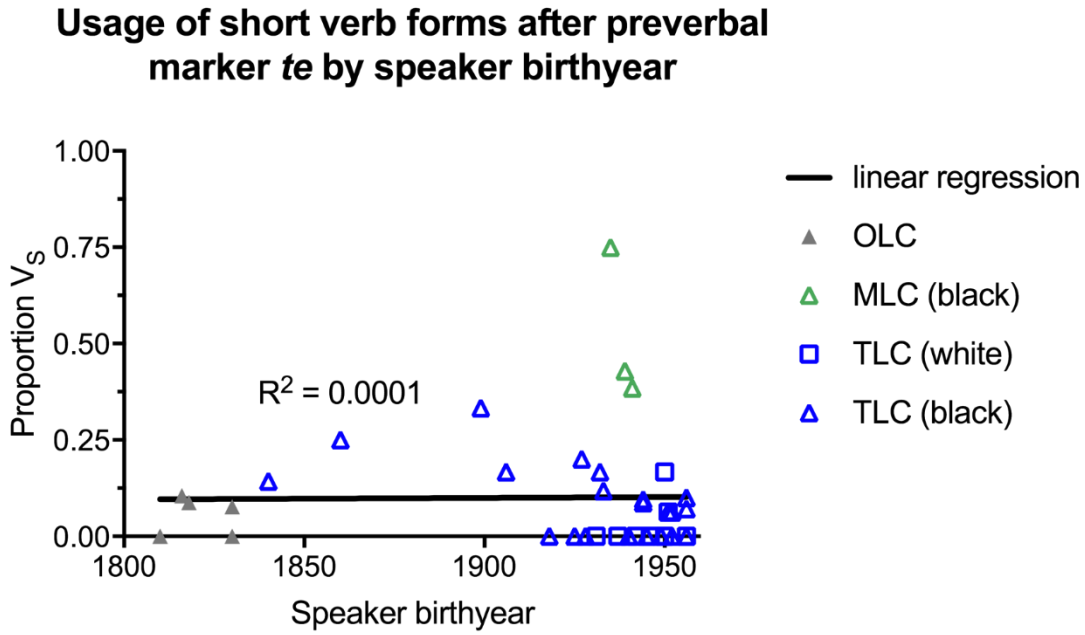

Figure 36. Proportion of usage of short (V_S) verb forms after the preverbal marker te *by speaker birthyear (linear regression)*

The flat regression line in Figure 36 shows that OLC and its contemporary descendants show some stability in their verbal systems, though these systems themselves are quite different. In OLC, long forms canonically follow *te* as in (116); almost without exception, only long forms appear in OLC in all contexts.[49]

(4.93)

Zeine	*sarpantié*	*té*	***rété***	*traouail*
young	carpenter	PST	**stop.VL**[50]	work

'The young carpenter stopped work.'
(CNT7)

[49] Marshall (1991) records some MLIC short forms which she takes as evidence that a two-form system was in use in OLC, *contra* Neumann (1985a). The small number of short forms after *te* visible in Figure 36 are attestations of *done* and *travaye*, unusual cases to be discussed in §4.3.1.1.3.

[50] Here, VL = long form; VS = short form.

Lane's (1935) account of TLC suggests that there was already variation in the verbal system by the early 20th century: 'there is *usually* but one form of the verb' (Lane 1935:8, emphasis mine). In the morphosyntactic description, however, he notes both a long and short form of the verb in a distribution resembling that in contemporary TLC: present tense is expressed by the short form while the past tense is expressed by the long form, e.g. *kup* 'I cut (present)' vs. *kupe* 'I cut (past)'. As the comment earlier in his paper suggests that such a two-form system would be 'unusual', this can be taken as early evidence for a two-form system which may have been unstable or subject to variation between speakers. This is corroborated by data in Broussard (1942), who attributes the emergent two-form system to contact with French (Broussard 1942: 21). Such variation is reflected in Early TLC data: in Durand (1930), 25% of verbs occurring after *te* are in their short form; in Trappey (1916), 14% (cf. Figure 36). By the latter half of the 20th century, this system had fully stabilized such that only long forms appear after *te* in TLC (Morgan 1959, Neumann 1985).

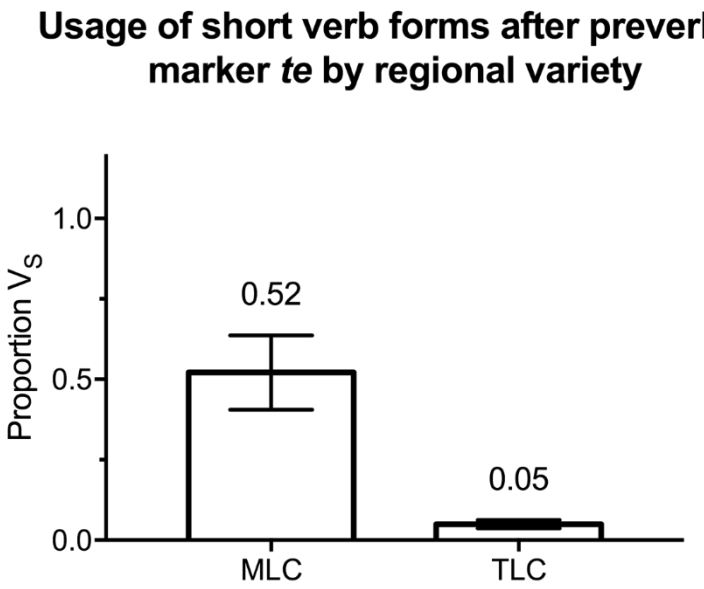

Figure 37. Proportion of usage of short (VS) verb forms after the preverbal marker te by regional variety. Difference between Vacherie MLC and TLC is significant at p < 0.001 (Mann Whitney).

The stable system described by Neumann (1985a) is reflected in the contemporary TLC data, diverging substantially from the Vacherie MLC (Figure 37). In Vacherie MLC, the mean proportion of short verb forms occurring after *te* is 0.5 (i.e. 50% long-forms, 50% short-forms). In other words, long and short forms are in free variation in this environment (117, 118). This free variation is the same pattern observed in Pointe Coupee MLC by Klingler (2003a, 2018), where either the short or long form can follow *te*.

(4.94)
Ye te ***lenm*** *tou sa.*
3PL PST **love.VS** all that
'They loved all that.'
(T2017EO)

(4.95)
Se tou ye moun-ye te ***parl***
EX all 3PL person-PL PST **speak.VS**
'It's all their people spoke.'
(T2017MN)

Two case studies furnish a more in-depth account of the development of this system, not immediately apparent from statistical analysis.

4.3.1.1.3. Case study (i): Travaye 'work', done 'give'

Short and long forms of verbs *travaye* ('to work') and *done* ('to give') are found in a near-even distribution across the contemporary sample (Table 7: *done* = 23, *donn* = 27; *travaye* = 70; *travay* = 95). Importantly, this variation occurs not only between speakers, but within the same speaker, as illustrated in (4.96)-(4.101). This is true of both TLC and Vacherie MLC samples.

Travaye
(4.96a)
No te kase gonbo, ***travaye*** *dan klo*
1PL PST break.VL okra **work.VL** in field
'We harvested okra, worked in the field.'
(4.96b)
WELL sonmdi no ***travay*** *pa*
<well> Saturday 1PL **work.VS** NEG
'Well, we don't work Saturdays.'
(T2017BB)

(4.97a)
To te gen pou ***travaye*** *an sokenn labitasyon*
2S PST have to work.VL on 3S.POSS.EMPH plantation
'You had to work on his own plantation.'
(4.97b)
E la to te gen pou ***travay*** *pou BOSS-la*
and there 2S PST have to work.VS for <boss>-DEF
'And then you had to work for the boss.'
(T2017BM)

(4.98a)
Mo ***travay*** *dan TOURISM*
1S **work.VS** in <tourism>
'I work in tourism.'

(4.98b)
Mo ***travaye*** *dan PRIVATE INDUSTRY*
1S **work.VL** in <private industry>
'I worked in private industry.'
(T2017GL)

Done
(4.99a)
To gen p ***done*** *le DAY OFF konm mo*
2S have to **give.VL** PL <day off> like 1S
'You have to give days off like I do.'

(4.99b)
TRUE FRIEND-la ***donn*** *en SCHOLARSHIP*
<True Friend>-DEF give.VS INDEF <scholarship>
'The True Friend Association gives a scholarship.'
(T2017BB)

(4.100a)
To gen bezwèn ***donn*** *to tan*
2S have.VS need **give.VS** 2S.POSS time
'You need to give your time.'

(4.100b)
To bezwèn ***done*** *en peu du tan*
2S need **give.VL** a little PART time
'You need to give a little time.'
(T2017LM)

(4.101a)
No rantre andan-la ***donn*** *nouzòt enn biyœr.*
1PL enter.VL inside-TOP **give.VS** 1PL INDEF.F beer
'We went inside, got ourselves a beer.'

(4.101b)
Kan li rive bœk laba-la li ***done*** *de zafœr li te gen.*
When 3S arrive.VL back there-TOP 3S **give.VL** PART thing 3S PST have.VS
'When he got back there, he gave some of the things he had [to us].'
(T2017TL)

As the same speakers employ both long and short forms of *done* and *travaye* interchangeably (4.97), (4.100), (4.101), they are particularly variable examples of two-form verbs.

These verbs are also exceptional in that apparently short forms *donn* and *travay* are attested in OLC. *Done* occurs in a short form (4.104)-(4.105) as well as long form (4.103). *Travay*, on the other hand, appears only in its short form (4.102).

(4.102)
Nous té pas bligé ***travaille*** *pou ein maite.*
1PL PST NEG obliged.VL **work.VS** for INDEF master
'We weren't obliged to work for a master.'
(FOT20)

(4.103)
Mamzelle-la té ***donnin*** *li morceau mangé.*
lady-DEF PST **give.VL** 3S piece food
'The lady gave him a bit of food.'
(FOT14)

(4.104)
Yé té ***donne*** *li ein coup sabe.*
3PL PST **give.VS** 3S INDEF hit sabre
'They hit him [lit. gave a blow] with a sabre.'
(FOT15)

(4.105)
Zafair-cilà ***don*** *mouen boucou traka.*
Thing-DEM give.VS 1S.OBJ much trouble
'This thing is giving me a lot of trouble.'
(CNT5)

The same alternation between *done~donn* may be observed in early 20th century TLC (4.106)-(4.107), but no such variation is found for *travaye*. This evidence suggests that long-short form variation was already present for at least *done* in OLC, and that this variation carried over into TLC.

(4.106)
ɛ̃ bo matɛ̃ fɔm la te ***dɔne*** *mɔ̃ʒe li vini tu truble.*
Early one morning woman-DEF PST **give.VL** food 3S come.VL all troubled
'Early one morning the woman who fed [the chickens] came back all troubled.'
(TP01)

(4.107)
Mo te krwa to te ***dɔ̃n*** *mwɛ̃ fezɔ̃ la.*
1S PST think 2S PST **give.VS** 1S.OBJ pheasant-DEF
'I thought you had given me the pheasant.'
(DU01)

4.3.1.1.4. Case study (ii): gen, kouri, vini

The second group of exceptional verbs in the corpus is the set of high-frequency items *gen* ('have'), *kouri* ('go') and *vini* ('come'). All three of these verbs have historically attested short and long forms: *gagne~gen*; *kouri~kou*; *vini~vyen*. In contemporary LC, the forms *gen* and *kouri* are widely attested; meanwhile, *vini~vyen* exhibits long-short alternation. These different trajectories are described in three vignettes.

Gagne, gen

The form *gen* is not recorded in the 19th century texts; only the long form *gagne* appears. In 20th century Teche texts, both *gen* and *gagne* appear. No evidence of long form is found in contemporary LC.[51]

Kouri, kou

In OLC, only the form *kouri* is found. However, early-20th-century TLC shows examples of the short form kou in past tense contexts (4.108) and following TAM markers which would usually select a long form (4.109).

(4.108)

Li	***ku***	*ra*	*latab*
3S	go.VS	around	table

"He went around the table"
(TP01)

(4.109)

nu	*va*	***ku***	*vwajaze*
1P	FUT	go.VS	travel.VL

"We are going to travel"
(TP01)

Remarks in Neumann (1985a:192n3) suggest that the form *kou* had lost its status as a fully-fledged short form and occurred only as a phonological variant of *kouri* before another verb. No such examples were found in contemporary TLC, again indicative of the stable two-form system in that variety.

In Vacherie MLC, *kouri* is not used at all and instead all speakers use *ale* (4.110). Metalinguistic commentary from speakers in Vacherie made clear that speakers do recognize *kouri*

[51] Klingler (2003a:248n28) notes the form *geny* [gɛ̃ǰ] as a hapax. I also note this form in TLC in Hiram Sampy's rendition of *Mo kèr kase* on the cassette *Zodico* (Rounder 1979, Somerville: Mass.). One speaker in St Tammany reported hearing *gagne* in her youth (DLC:180).

as a form used elsewhere in the region. *Ale* is found as an alternate form of the future marker in OLC and Early TLC, occasionally appearing in this function in contemporary TLC., suggesting a possible OLC origin for this feature in OLC.

(4.110)

To	*gen pou*	*DRIVE*	*to*	*CAR*	*pou*	***ale***	*SOMEWHERE*
2S	have to	<drive>	2S.POSS	<car>	for	**go**	<somewhere>

'You have to drive your car to go somewhere.'
(M2017ML)

Vini, vyen

In OLC texts the sole occurrence of the short form of *vini*, is the imperative <viens> (4.111). The significance of this single form is more apparent when considering the fact that both short and long forms of *vini* are well-established in TLC and the MLC of Vacherie and Pointe Coupee (2003a:296). This indicates that the form *vyen* was present before the divergence of MLC and TLC, providing another datapoint in support of the claim of the early presence of short forms.

(4.111)

"Viens	*ta*	*oua*	*comme*	*mo*	*va*	*range*	*toi."*
come.VS	2S FUT	see	like	1S	FUT	arrange	2S

'Come on, you'll see how I'll sort you out.'
(FOT02)

4.3.1.2. Discussion: Verb forms

Both the contemporary TLC and MLC diverge from OLC. TLC now exhibits a well-established system of two-form verbs, with few short forms occurring after *te* (as in Neumann 1985a). Vacherie MLC data bear strong resemblance to those recorded in Pointe Coupee (Klingler 2003a), where long and short forms are in free variation after *te*. Viewed in diachronic perspective, the two-form system of MLC represents an intermediary position between TLC and OLC. Early TLC data suggest that variety also passed through a period of instability like that of contemporary MLC. In all, the data here support the assertion made by Neumann (1985a:198) that two-form verbs emerged early relative to other features such as number and gender agreement on possessive determiners (cf. §4.2.1.5). However, it would be premature based on these data to conclude that OLC had a fully-fledged two-form system as has Marshall (1991) suggested.

There are too few attestations of short forms in OLC for this to be the case. They also come from an apparently exceptional subset of high-frequency verbs, only one of which (*done* §4.3.1.1.3) is attested in both short and long forms in OLC. Marshall's own findings are also based on attestations

of short forms of *done* and *travaye*.[52] As Klingler & Dajko (2006:25n17) have pointed out, these apparently short forms are not part of a true two-form verbal system: in MLIC and OLC they are not grammatically meaningful as they are in TLC. In future research on the two-form verb system in TLC, it will be worth considering whether the early presence of these short forms can be related to the creolization process (as Holm 2004 has done for Réunionnais, cf. Neumann 1985a). It is also possible that the early presence of alternation between *done* and *donn* served as a trigger for the grammaticalization of a two-form system.

While this section has focused in quite close detail on the diachrony of LC, this analysis has wider implications for the concerns of this thesis. Analyses of the two-form verb system in LC have so far been framed in terms of decreolization; however, this change does not neatly fit this definition. Although the emergence of short forms must certainly be tied to contact with French, as in the other cases of lexifier-induced changes reported in this thesis, the processes underlying this change appear in no way specific to creoles. A French origin for the short forms presupposes that they have been derived from their long form predecessors, such that *parle* > *parle~parl*.

It is difficult to conceptualize how the Bickertonian 'new forms first, new functions later' definition of decreolization (outlined in Chapter 1) applies to this case. In the Bickertonian view, decreolization would proceed by creolophones' acquisition of short form verbs wholesale: there would first emerge a mesolectal variety of LC which has a full system of two-form verbs, these having been directly incorporated from French. This explanation falls short in that it cannot explain the presence of the diachronic and synchronic variation in this system observed in the above analysis. As data in the diachronic corpus make clear (see Figure 25), the two-form system did not emerge at once, but instead emerged stepwise: TLC moved through its own period of instability before the two-form system emerged in the late 20th century. In MLC, short form verbs are still in free variation after *te*, providing synchronic corroboration of this account.

4.3.2. Mood-Modality

4.3.2.1. Auxiliary of volition: *ole* vs. *ve*

4.3.2.1.1. Introduction

We now turn to the volitional auxiliary *ole* and its variant *ve* (< Fr. *veut*), the latter supposed to be a recent borrowing from French (Klingler 2003a, 2018; Neumann 1985a).

[52] Additionally, her analysis includes *priye* ('pray'), which she describes as another high-frequency verb. No short forms of *priye* were found in the LCDC's OLC sample.

4.3.2.1.2. Analysis

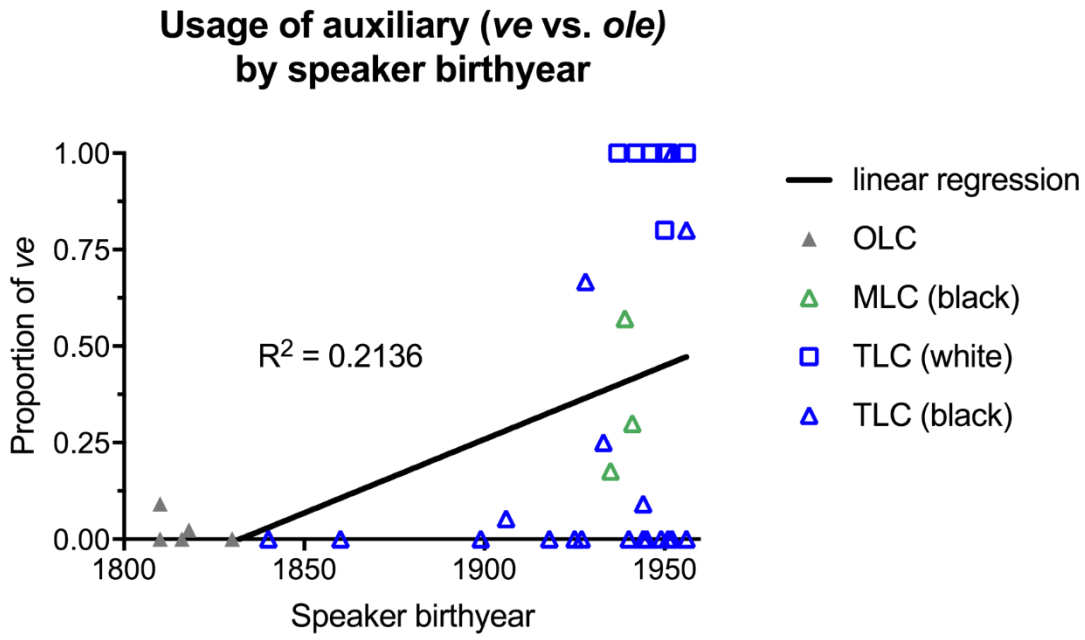

Figure 38. Proportion of auxiliary ve (*'want'*) *by speaker birthyear* (*linear regression*).

Diachronic analysis of the LCDC shows a steep increase in the frequency of *ve* over time (Figure 38). Only 2 occurrences of this form are found in OLC (4.112), (4.113). They are not attested in Early TLC.

(4.112)

Pasqué	*mo*	***vé***	*pli*	*batisé*	*piti*
Because	1S	**VE**	no more	baptize	child

'Because I no longer wanted to baptize children.'
(FOT13)

(4.113)

Li	*te*	***vé***	*pas*	*consolé*
3S	PST	**VE**	NEG	console

'He did not want to be consoled'
(FOT20)

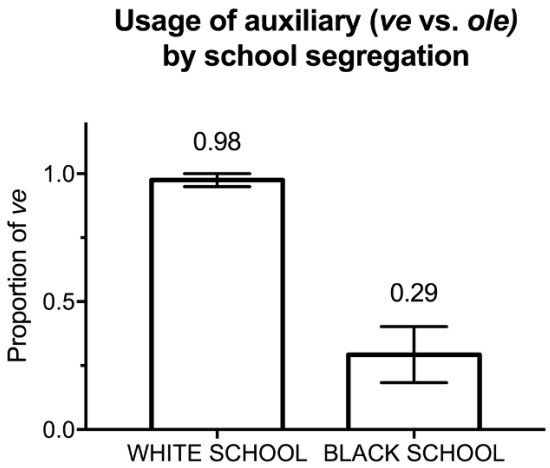

Figure 39. Proportion of auxiliary ve (*'want'*) *by speaker school segregation. Between-groups difference is significant at p < .05* (*Mann Whitney*).

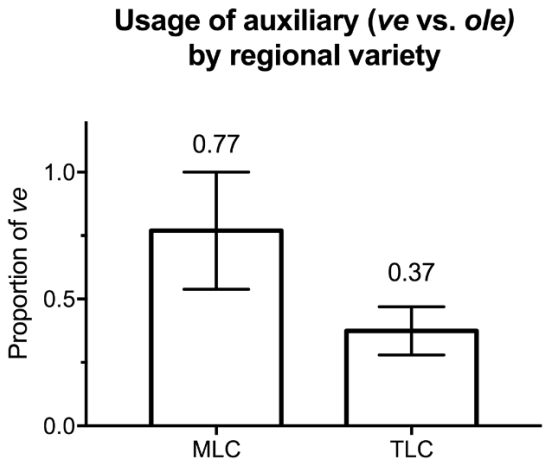

Figure 40. Proportion of auxiliary ve (*'want'*) *by regional variety. Difference between Vacherie MLC and TLC is not significant at p = .1* (*Mann Whitney*).

Synchronic analysis returns school segregation as a significant predictor of variation (Table 73, Appendices). White and black speakers differ significantly in their usage of *ve*, with white speakers displaying almost total adoption of this feature (Figure 39, cf. Figure 38). White speakers overall display a strong preference for *ve*, and black speakers exhibit more variation.[53]

A similar trend was found in the diachronic study of Pointe Coupee MLC by Klingler (2019), he reports white speakers use *ve* exclusively, while black speakers only use *ole*. Though the form *ve* does appear in Vacherie MLC, its usage is not frequent enough to produce a statistically significant difference when compared to TLC data (Figure 40).

4.3.2.1.3. Summary

Four pieces of evidence support the early presence of *ve* in OLC. First, the 2 tokens of *ve* in the OLC data. Second, the presence of *ve* in the fossilized phrase *si Bondje ve* ('God-willing'). Third, *ve* is attested in the St Tammany MLC (Carriere & Viator m.s.), typically the most conservative variety. Fourth, Vacherie MLC also features *ve* as a variant of *ole*, and does not differ significantly from TLC variety in this regard despite much less contact with French.

Early TLC data contain no occurrences of *ve*, but all speakers in that sample are identified as black in Trappey (1916) and Durand (1930). It is possible that *ve* was already present amongst white

[53] Even when a speaker uses *ole* exclusively, *ve* is still found in the lexicalized expression *si Bondje ve* ('God-willing'):

(4.114)

T	*a*	*war*	*sa*	*si*	*t*	***ole,***	*si*	*Bondje*	***ve.***
2S	FUT	see	that	if	2S	OLE	if	God	VE.

'You'll see that if you want to, God-willing.
(T2017MB)

speakers in Early TLC. Since 100% of white speakers in the contemporary Teche sample use *ve*, it is probable that this form originated in the white community and only spread to black creolophones in the mid-20th century.

4.3.2.2. Auxiliary of ability: *kapab* vs. *pe*

4.3.2.2.1. Introduction

In OLC, *kapab* is the typical auxiliary 'be able to'; by the late 20th century, however, *pe* (< Fr. *peut*) emerged as a variant form in both TLC and MLC.

4.3.2.2.2. Analysis

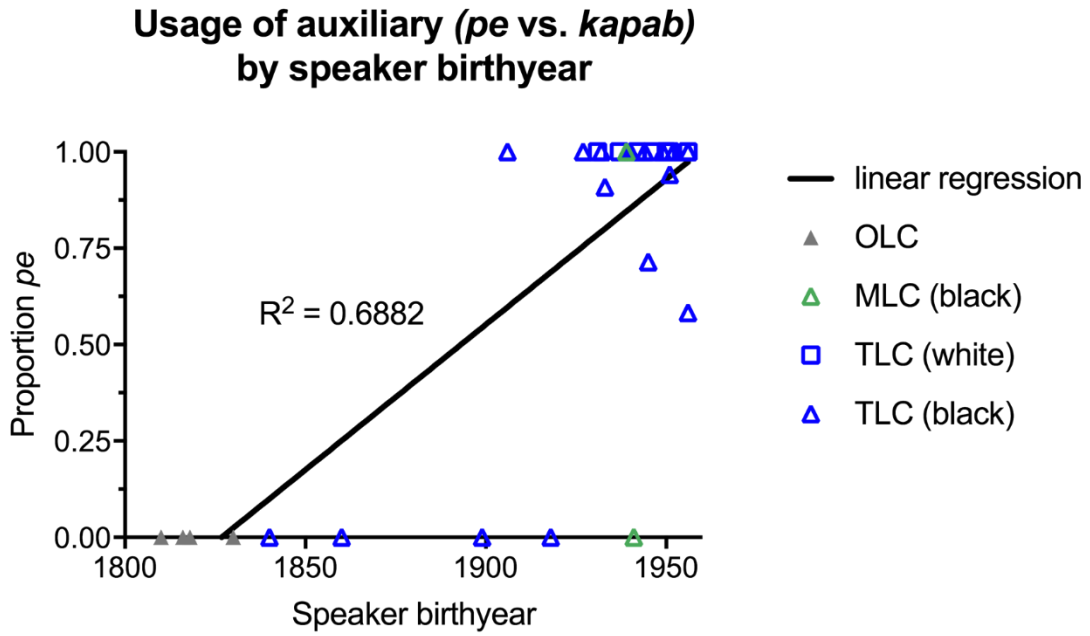

Figure 41. Proportion of auxiliary pe (*'be able to'*) *by speaker birthyear* (*linear regression*).

The linear regression (Figure 41) performed on all tokens of *pe* and *kapab* in LCDC shows the extent of the shift towards *pe*. In in contemporary TLC *pe* has almost completely replaced *kapab*, which is the only form found in OLC and Early TLC (4.115, 4.116).

(4.115)
Li *pa* ***capa*** *galopé* *vite.*
3S NEG **KAPAB** run quickly
'He can't run quickly.'
(CNT4)

(4.116)
mɔmzɛl *mo* *pa* ***kapab*** *fe* *sa.*
Miss 1S NEG **KAPAB** do that
'Miss, I can't do that.'
(TP01)

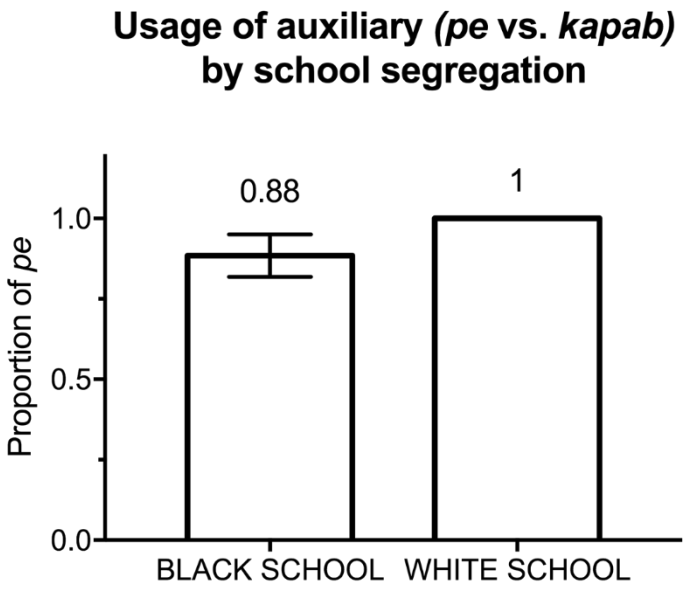

Figure 42. Proportion of auxiliary pe (*'be able to'*) *by speaker school segregation. Between-groups difference is not significant at p = .1225* (*Mann Whitney*).

The multiple logistic regression performed for *kapab vs. pe* did not reveal any significant predictors of this variation in contemporary data (Table 75, Appendices). Even dividing speakers by school segregation—which so far has emerged as significant in most analyses—does not produce a significant difference (Figure 42): across TLC, auxiliary *kapab* has fallen out of use in favour of *pe*.

4.3.2.2.3. Summary

The trajectory of changed described here in TLC contrasts with what has happened in Pointe Coupee MLC, where Klingler (2019) observes an overall decline in the usage of *pe* in favour of *kapab* over the past century. Vacherie MLC appears to be in a state of transition intermediate to these two varieties – that variety also features an alternative strategy induced through English contact (to be discussed in §4.3.2.2.4).

The presence of two opposite change trajectories in TLC and MLC might suggest the presence of *pe* (like *ve*) before divergence from OLC. However, there are no attestations of *pe* in OLC, nor in Early TLC. One explanation for this is that Pointe Coupee MLC and TLC independently borrowed *pe* from French. In TLC, continued, intensive contact with French across racial boundaries meant that by the end of the 20th century the adoption of *pe* was almost uniform. In Pointe Coupee MLC, two 'ethnolects' began to emerge in the mid-20th century (Klingler 2018): in the white community, contact with French meant that *pe* won out as the most frequent auxiliary. Black creolophones had less contact with French and preserved a degree of variation between *kapab* and *pe*.

The cases of *pe* and *ve* exemplify the importance of close sociolinguistic analysis of the sociohistorical dynamics of small endangered-language communities, as the same language change may take a quite different path based on these dynamics. Thus, while contact with the lexifier is the main source of change in this case, it is mediated by language-external factors. The label decreolization should be applied with caution here, therefore, since creole-lexifier contact in and of itself is not sufficient for determining the outcome of a given language change; instead, it is sociolinguistic factors which play a key role in determining the trajectory of change (see §1.1.2).

4.3.2.2.4. Auxiliary kone *in Vacherie*

Tokens of both *kapab* and *pe* were rare in Vacherie ($N = 3$). One speaker, ML, did not produce any tokens of either auxiliary. Instead, Vacherie MLC has developed another strategy, in a probable case of internal restructuring coupled with influence from English.

In Vacherie MLC, lexical verb *kone* 'to know' has acquired a new function as an auxiliary verb which expresses both the agent-oriented modalities of mental and physical ability, as well as the epistemic and deontic modalities of possibility and permission. This process of change from a lexical verb 'to know' towards a modal verb encoding ability is well-attested crosslinguistically (refer to KNOW > (1) ABILITY in Heine & Kuteva 2002:186). Bybee et al. (1994:137ff., see also Bybee 1988) describe this pathway with reference to a number of languages, including English and the modal *can* (see detailed syntactic analysis of this case in Roberts & Roussou 2009:36ff.). This change pathway may be generalized as follows: 'KNOW' > ABILITY > POSSIBILITY > PERMISSION (cf. Bybee et al. 1994:194). This discussion provides a framework for analysis of the Vacherie MLC data, which contain instantiations for all four stages of this pathway. As will be show, this change is primarily the result of semantic generalization, i.e. a loss of specific semantic distinctions in favour of more general meaning (Bybee et al. 1994:191). Given contact between English and LC in Vacherie, it is noteworthy that the change pathway for English *can* is so well-suited to describing *kone*.

(1) Stage one: *'know'*

In all varieties of LC, the primary sense of lexical verb *kone* is 'to know'. Unlike its French etymon *connaître*, it denotes knowledge of both information (4.117, 4.119) and people (4.118, 4.20).

(4.117)

No ***kone*** *tou biznès moun-ye.*
1PL **KONE** all business person-PL.
'We **know** everyone's business.'
(T2017BB)

(4.118)
Mo ***kone*** *li. To kone li?*
1S KONNE 3S. 2S KONE 3S?
'I know him. Do you know him?'
(T2017PB)

(4.119)
SO ye te pa ***kone*** *sa ye t ole nonme lekòl-la.*
<SO> 3PL PST NEG KONE REL 3PL PST want name school-DEF
'So they didn't know what they wanted to name the school.'
(M2017EO)

(4.120)
Li ***kone*** *mwa.*
3S KONE 1S.OBJ
'He knows me'
(M2017EO)

(2) *Mental and physical ability*

The next stage in the pathway is for 'know' to express the sense of 'knowing how to do something' (i.e. mental ability) before further losing this specification and expressing 'being (physically) able to do something' (i.e. physical ability). Thus, 'know' can acquire the function of expressing general ability. This change takes place because many activities are ambiguous with regard to whether they require solely physical or mental ability, or a combination of both; the usage of one modal (i.e. *kone*) in such ambiguous cases results in the extension of its function over time.

TLC appears to use *kone* in such ambiguous cases to a certain extent. There, usage of *kone* for ability is confined to cases where it is ambiguous whether the activity requires both mental and physical ability, or is otherwise ambiguous, e.g. speaking a language (4.121), driving a car (4.122). However, TLC also uses *pe* and *kapab* to fulfil this function. In Vacherie MLC, only *kone* is used for such ambiguous cases (4.123) and in unambiguous cases of both mental (4.124) and physical (4.125) ability.

(4.121)

Li	*li*	*pa*	***kone***	*parle*	*kreyòl*
3S	3S	NEG	KONE	speak	Creole

'He can't speak Creole.', i.e. does not possess the physical/mental ability
(T2017GB)

(4.122)

Li	*te*	***kone***	*DRIVE*	*de*	*EIGHTEEN-WHEELER.*
3S	PST	KONE	<drive>	INDEF.PL	<eighteen-wheeler>

'He could drive eighteen-wheelers', i.e. possesses the physical/mental ability

(4.123)

Mo	*mo*	*lenm*	*kan*	*kèkenn*	*vyen*	*isidan*	*e*	***kone***	*parle*	*kreyòl.*
1S	1S	like	when	someone	come.VS	in here	and	KONE	speak.VL	Creole

'I like it when someone comes in here and can speak Creole'
(M2017ML)

(4.124)

To	***kone***	*kwi*	*bin*
2S	KONE	cook	bean

'You can cook beans', i.e. 'You know how to cook beans'
(M2017ML)

(4.125)

Li	*pa*	***kone***	*war*
3S	NEG	KONE	see

'He couldn't see', i.e. "He was not able to see";
not: "He didn't know how to see"
(M2017EO)

(3) *Root possibility*

The next stage of that pathway can involve a further semantic shift towards what Bybee et al. (1994) term 'root possibility', as in (4.126, 4.127). This change involves the loss of agent-oriented element of semantic meaning: possibility is no longer contingent on the ability of the agent but only on physical conditions (Bybee et al. 1994:192).

(4.126)

Mo	***kone***	*manje*	*diri*
1S	KONE	eat	rice

'I can eat rice', i.e. 'It's possible for me to eat rice';
not: "I know how to eat rice"
(M2017MN)

(4.127)

Si	*ye*	*pran*	*frans*	*dan*	*lekòl,*	*ye*	***konne***	*ramase*	*kreyòl.*
If	3PL	take	French	in	school	3PL	KONNE	pick up	Creole.

'If they take French in school, they can pick up Creole.'
i.e. 'It is possible that they pick up Creole';
not: 'They will know how to pick up Creole'.
(M2017ML)

(*4*) *Permission*

It is possible for a further loss of semantic distinctions to occur, whereby an auxiliary is no longer specified for physical conditions alone. This loss of specification results in the function of the auxiliary expanding to include social conditions i.e. deontic modality of permission (e.g. *I can eat* = 'I have permission to eat'). Examples of *kone* in this permissive sense are also found in Vacherie MLC (4.128, 4.129); this sense is not attested in any other variety of LC (see DLC:240).

(4.128) Permission

To	***kone***	*fe*	*tou*	*kichoj*	*EXCEPT*
2S	KONE	do	all	something	<except>

mo	*pa*	***kone***	*mèt*	*mo*	*SEAL*	*o*	*mo*	*non*	*apre*	*en*	*WILL*
1S	NEG	KONE	put	1S.POSS	<seal>	or	1S.POSS	name	after	INDEF	<will>

[...]	*mo*	*pa*	***konne***	*signe*	*ariyen*	*pou*	*ADOPT*	*en*	*piti*
[...]	1S	NEG	KONE	sign	nothing	for	<adopt>	INDEF	child

'You can (= are allowed to) do everything, except I can't (= am not allowed) to put my seal or my name on a will [...] I can't (= am not allowed) to sign anything to do with adopting children.'
(M2017ML)

(4.129)

Sa-fe	*l*	*ale*	*prizon,*	*li*	*vini*	*bœk,*	*li*	*te*	*pi*	***kone***	*TEACH*	*lekòl.*
so	3S	go	prison	3S	come	back	3S	PST	anymore	KONE	<teach>	school.

'So he went to prison, he came back, he couldn't (= was not allowed to) teach at school anymore.'
(M2017EO)

It appears that the verb *kone* 'know' has followed a well-described pathway of semantic change and grammaticalization as a modal verb expressing ability, possibility and permission. Instantiations of different stages of this pathway are found in a diverse set of languages including Motu, Baluchi, Danish, Sango, Nung (KNOW > ABILITY; Heine & Kuteva 2002:186), Middle Chinese, German (ABILITY > PERMISSIVE; Heine & Kuteva 2002:27); this process of grammaticalization also occurred in the emergence of creoles Tok Pisin and Tayo (KNOW > ABILITY; Heine & Kuteva 2002:186).

Seen in light of this extensive crosslinguistic evidence, it can be argued that the use of *kone* in Vacherie MLC is the result of a language-internal process. Since semantic generalization is a

process that proceeds through the loss of semantic distinctions, it is possible that this particular case has been accelerated by the obsolescence of the variety in question (for more on the loss of features due to obsolescence see discussion of Dorian's work in §1.1.3.1).

At the same time, *kone* could also be the result of semantic borrowing on the basis of English *can*. Consider that in the translations of examples (4.117)-(4.129) above, *can* is used in exactly the same way as LC *kone*. Given the intensive contact between Vacherie MLC and English, it is possible that contact with English has heavily reinforced the ongoing pathway of language change. It appears therefore that this case is a good example of language change through multiple causation (see §1.1.1.2) and, specifically, an instance of contact-induced grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva 2005).

The change outlined above has not been previously documented for any variety of LC. Though this incidence of language change is widely-attested crosslinguistically (including in other creoles), it cannot be captured by decreolization, a notion which suggests that the creole soley undergoes advergence to its lexifier. The paradigm thus leaves no room for language-internal change, nor does it account for the possibility of influence from a language other than the lexifier. Here, both of these factors interact. As in the case of *ole* vs. *ve* (§3.2.), the results earlier in this section (for *pe* vs. *kapab*) might be described as decreolization. When taken in the light of developments in Vacherie LC *kone*, building a complete picture of variation and change in LC can only be accomplished by working outside of a creole-specific frame and invoking language-internal factors.

4.3.3. Tense

4.3.3.1. Remote past marker: *bin*

4.3.3.1.1. Introduction

The form *bin* [bɪn] was first identified by Neumann (1985a:75) as a borrowing of English perfective 'been'. In this section I will show that *bin* should be analyzed instead but as a pre-verbal TAM marker from AAE remote past marker *BIN*. LC *bin* occurs four times in the 2017 corpus, a sample too small to analyze quantitatively. This section therefore departs from the structure used for other variables, laying out a synchronic grammatical analysis.

4.3.3.1.2. Analysis

In his study, Klingler defines *bin* as a preverbal marker expressing 'an action or state that began before, and continued up to, a subsequent point in time, which may be the moment of utterance or a point prior to it' (Klingler 2003a:262-263). This recalls the sense of AAE *BIN*, which marks remote past (Green 1998), and to which LC *bin* is phonologically identical. First analyzed by

Labov (1972) and Rickford (1975), this remote past marker functions to 'indicate that the time period referred to is longer than normal for an activity, or [...] that a state has indeed held for a long [period] of time' (Green 2002: 54). *BIN* is an example of what Spears (1982) refers to as 'camouflaging', i.e. AAE words that are phonologically similar to, but syntactically and semantically distinct from, those in other varieties of English; in studies of AAE (see e.g. Green 2010:100), this remote past marker is conventionally transcribed as *BIN*. This convention emphasizes the distributional properties of this form, namely that *BIN* typically bears sentence-level stress (4.131) and functions differently from its unstressed counterpart (4.130) (Green 2002:54).

(4.130) Perfective *been*
She been running
'She has been running.'
(Green 2002:54)

(4.131) AAE remote past *BIN*
She BIN running
'She has been running for a long time.'
(Green 2002:54)

Green outlines three aspectual functions of *BIN* additional to its remote past tense: stative (4.132), habitual (4.133) and completive aspects (4.134) (1998, see also 2002:55-59).

(4.132)
He BIN running.
'He's been running for a long time.'
(Green 1998:117)

(4.133)
Bruce BIN running.
'Bruce started running some time ago and he still runs from time to time.'
(Green 2002:57)

(4.134)
Bruce BIN ate those potato chips.
'Bruce ate those potato chips a long time ago.'
(Green 1998:130)

All four cases of *bin* in the LCDC are from black speakers who speak what Dubois & Horvarth (2003b) would identify as 'Creole African American Vernacular English' (CAAVE, §2.3.2.2). Three pieces of evidence that motivate an analysis of this element as a preverbal marker from AAE *BIN* and not

perfective *been*: (i) sentence-level stress; (ii) aspectual functions; (iii) the LC rendering of English perfective *been*.

First, instances of *bin* in the corpus were checked for sentence-level stress: all examples bear sentence-level stress, and no counterexample was otherwise heard during fieldwork. Second, all three of Green's subtypes of *BIN* were found: habitual (4.135, 4.136, cf. 4.133), stative (4.137, cf. 4.132) and completive (4.138, cf. 4.134).

(4.135) Habitual

Sa-fe	*mo*	***bin***	*ape*	*garde*	*seye*	*trouve*	*en*	*kòn vach*	*pou*	*mo,*
So	1SG	BIN	PROG	look	try	find	INDEF	cow horn	for	1SG,

jich	*pou*	*gen*	*YOU KNOW*
just	for	have	<you know>

"So I've **been** looking **for a long time (and still do)** to try and find a cow horn for me, just to have, you know"
(T2017GB)

(4.136) Habitual

Mo	***bin***	*ole*	*RETIRE*
1SG	BIN	VOL	<retire>

'I've **been** wanting to retire **for a long time (and still want to).**'
(M2017ML)

(4.137) Stative

NAME	***bin***	*mouri, è?*
NAME	**BIN**	dead, eh?

"NAME has been dead **for a long time**, eh?"
(M2017EO)

(4.138) Completive

nou	***bin***	*ape*	*PACK UP*	*no*	*zafèr…*
1PL	BIN	PROG	<pack up>	1PL.POSS	thing

'We had been packing up our things **for a long time…**'
(T2017BM)

Third, English perfective *been* (as in 4.130) is not rendered in LC using *BIN*. Example (4.140) contains an extended switch into English, which the speaker subsequently renders in LC. In the English, perfective *been* is used (*'We've been there'*); this is rendered in LC with a plain verb *kouri* 'go' to express perfective aspect. With *bin* (*no bin la,* 1PL BIN there), the sentence would produce a different interpretation, denoting the remote past with stative aspect rather than a perfective aspect (i.e. 'We've been there and still are there').

(4.140)

Mo	*mo*	*di*	*si*	*se*	*se*	*vini*	*HARD-LIFE AGAIN*
1SG	1SG	say	if	that	COND	come	HARD-LIFE AGAIN

nouzòt	*nou*	*peu*	*fe*	*nou*	*vi.*	*Paske*	***WE'VE BEEN THERE.***	***No***	***kouri***	***la***
1PL	1PL	can	make	1PL	life.	Because	<we've been there>.	1PL	go	there.

"Me, I say if it were to go back to being a hard life again, we [Black people] can make a life for ourselves. **Because we've been there. We've been there**."
(T2017LD)

4.3.3.1.3. Discussion

The example of *bin* is indicative of the increasing influence of English over the course of the last half-century. Particularly, it testifies to the pressure exerted on LC by other varieties of English, specifically AAE and its LC-influenced sub-variety identified by Dubois & Horvarth (2003b).

As discussed in §2.3.2.2, forms of AAE have been present in Louisiana since at least the early- to mid-1800s, though its influence on Louisiana's French-related varieties has been understated or neglected by accounts of language shift and maintenance. The analysis of *bin* emphasizes the need to consider not only the 'standard' form of the dominant language, but also the varieties of that language which they themselves may be minoritized. Decreolization is doubly deficient here. First, as mentioned throughout this chapter, it cannot account for LC's contact with English. Second, decreolization presupposes the idea of grammatical change that occurs stepwise with the acrolect as the terminal stage. In the case of AAE-LC contact, the sociolinguistic-historical accounts suggest that AAE has exerted influence on LC from a position best-described as either below or adjacent to LC (§2.3).

4.3.4. Aspect

4.3.4.1. Continuative marker: *stil*

4.3.4.1.1. Introduction

In an incipient process, an English-origin temporal adverb is being grammaticalized as preverbal marker for the continuative aspect (CONT). The adverb *stil* 'still' (< En. *still*) is recorded by Klingler (2003a:343) and Neumann (1985a:27) as an alternative to *toujou* ('always; still'). Here, I adopt Cinque's analysis of adverbials, where the adverb 'still' expresses the continuative aspect (1999:95ff.). OLC, in common with French, *toujou* has both senses 'always' (4.141) and 'still' (4.142). In this analysis, occurrences of *toujou* in the sense 'still' were extracted from the LCDC and compared with occurrences for *stil*.

(4.141)

Mo	***toujours***	*pare*	*pou*	*oblige*	*tou*	*mo*	*zami.*
1S	**TOUJOU**	ready	for	oblige	all	1S.POSS	friend

'I'm **always** ready to oblige all my friends.'
(FOT01)

(4.142)

N'apé	*tende*	*li*	***toujou.***
1PL PROG	listen	3S	**TOUJOU**

'We are **still** listening to him.'
(FOT15)

4.3.4.1.2. Analysis

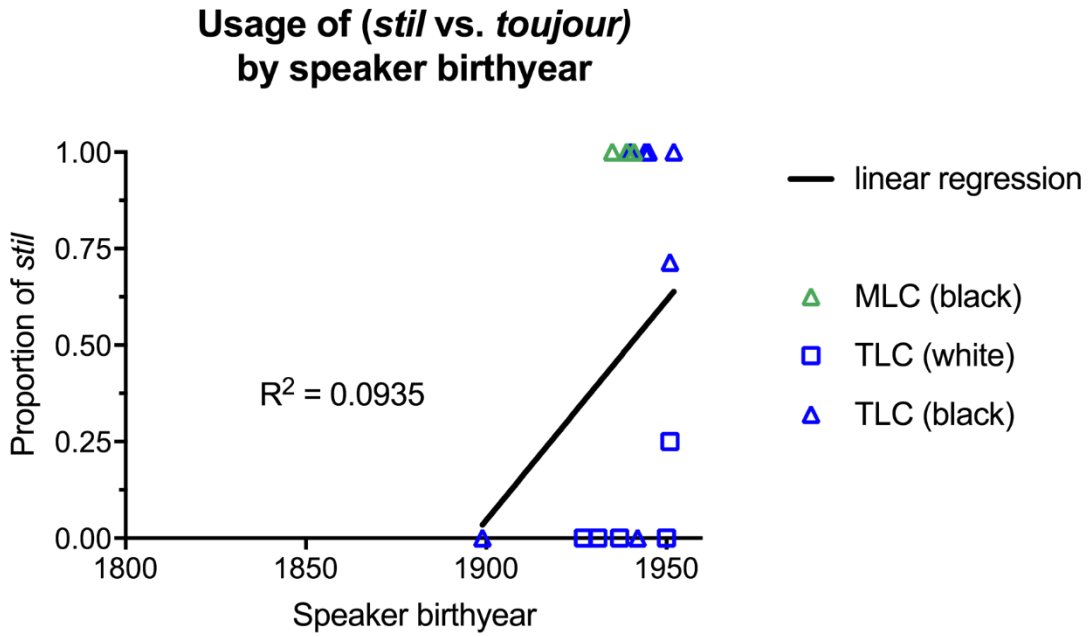

Figure 43. Proportion of stil *('still') by speaker birthyear.*

As evidenced in Figure 30, *stil* is attested in the LCDC exclusively in contemporary TLC and Vacherie MLC. Within that sample, a logistic regression (Table 78, Appendices) finds school segregation to be a significant predictor of variation. Use of *stil* is found overwhelmingly amongst speakers who went to Black schools, who display on average a proportion of 0.85 for the usage of *stil* over *toujour* (Figure 31).

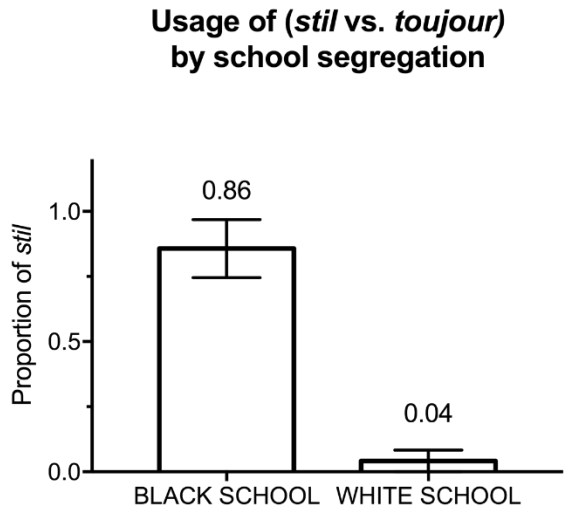

Figure 44. Proportion of stil for toujour ('still') by speaker school segregation. Between-groups difference is significant at p = .0028 (Mann Whitney).

4.3.4.1.3. Discussion

The incorporation of *stil* into the LC TAM system is a result of contact with English and subsequent grammaticalization. Where LC does not feature a lexical distinction between the two senses of *toujou* ('still', 'always'), English does. As discussed in Chapter 1, intensive contact often results in a creation of distinctions in the recipient language on the basis of those present in the dominant language. This process has already been observed in the borrowing of the third person singular feminine pronoun *èl* from LF into LC (§4.2.1.5.1.). As in that case, there is a process of internal restructuring whereby the other-language item is incorporated into the LC grammar.

In the case of *stil*, the sociolinguistic analysis above gives us insight into an important demographic dimension to this change-in-progress: it is used mostly by black creolophones. One plausible reason for this variation is contact with AAE (see also §3.4., §2.3.2.2). Zero copula constructions (glossed with Ø) are present in AAE (4.143) and LC (4.144) (see §4.3.5).

(4.143)
Some of them Ø big and some of them Ø small.
(Green 2002:52)

(4.144)
Li *Ø* *smat* *smat.*
3S COP smart smart
'He's really smart.'
(T2017CF)

Where *stil* is inserted in a verb phrase, it appears adjacent to the zero-copula with adverbial (4.145), prepositional (4.146) and nominal predicates (4.147). In utterances such as (4.145)-(4.147), *stil* is the only overtly realized element specified for TAM, a context conducive to reanalysis and the

kind of upwards grammaticalization described in Roberts & Roussou (2008:208). The grammaticalization of adverbs to TAM markers in this fashion is a crosslinguistically-attested phenomenon, with examples in the literature including such typologically diverse languages as Kaakyi (Abunya & Amfo 2013), Vai, Mandinka (Claudi 1994), several Kru languages (Marchese 1986), Kaqchiqel (Harris & Campbell 1995:75-76), Trukese, Bari, Chepang and the creole Tok Pisin (Bybee et al. 1994:270).

(4.145)
No Ø *stil* *pòv*
1P COP STILL poor
"We're still poor"
(T2017BB)

(4.146)
No Ø *stil* *dan* *POVERTY.*
1P COP STILL in <POVERTY>
"We're still in poverty"
(T2017BB)

(4.147)
NAME Ø *stil* *en* *hòg*.
NAME COP STILL INDEF hog
'NAME is still a hog [promiscuous male]'
(M2017EO)

In her study of 14 Kru languages, Marchese (1989:257ff.) outlines phonological and distributional evidence for the grammaticalization of adverbs into tense markers. Her phonological argument pertains to the existence of phonologically reduced forms, a widely-observed phenomenon in grammaticalization (see Bybee et al. 1994). For example, in Nyabo *kɛ́ɛ̄té* 'today' > *kɛ̀ɛ̄* PRS (Marchese 1989:258); a similar phenomenon is described by Abunya & Amfo (2013) in Kaakyi, such that *ɔ̀kɛ́* 'tomorrow' > *kɛ̀* FUT. In Kaqchiqel, Harris & Campbell (1995:75-76) report the following: *tan* 'now' + *t*-V (INCOMP-V) > *nd*-V (PRS-V). Such phonological reduction is also found in the case of LC *stil*, where it may also surface as *sti* [stɪ] (4.148).

(4.148)
Me *le* *piti* *astœr,* *ye* ***sti*** *ole.*
But PL child now 3PL STILL want
'But the children nowadays, they still want [things].'
(T2017MY)

Further motivation for a grammaticalization account for *stil* is drawn from its distribution. In Kru, Marchese (1989:258) observes that temporal adverbs constitute good candidates for grammaticalization as tense markers because both appear in the same position (in Kru, this is directly following the finite verb). *Stil* belongs to a closed-class of LC adverbs which occurs preverbally (4.149), just like TAM markers such as *te* (4.150).

(4.149)
To ***stil*** *gin* *sila?*
2S STILL have that one?
'Do you still have that one?'
(M2017EO)

(4.150)
To ***te*** *gen* *SURVEY.*
2S PST have <survey>
'You had a survey.'
(M2017ML)

The change described here is incipient rather than established. This process resembles the more well-established case of *kone* in Vacherie (§4.3.2.2.4), in that it is an example of an interaction between language-internal and language-external factors. On one hand, *stil* is at the preliminary stages of a grammaticalization pathway which has been attested in a typologically diverse range of languages. On the other hand, the introduction of *stil* and its proliferation in LC is a result of contact with English. Examples of similar interactions between internal and external factors in language change are widespread in the literature, but conspicuously absent in work within the decreolization frame (§1.2.3.1). As in the case of *kone*, *stil* involves contact between a creole and a language which is not its lexifier, a further gap in the analysis of language change in creoles (§1.2.2.2).

4.3.5. Copula

4.3.5.1. Introduction

The copula was first noted as a point of diachronic variation by Neumann (1985a:64-68). LC features a zero copula (Ø), an overt copula *se* (with variant *ye* in clefts and interrogatives) and a more recent form *dèt* (< Fr. *d'être*). In OLC, the alteration between *se* and Ø is canonically governed by

whether the predicate is nominal or adjectival.[54] In TLC, there is now a great deal of variation in the usage of these forms, which Neumann (1985a) attributes to contact with French.

Aside from the multiple forms the copula may take, the analysis of this variable is further complicated by the usage of *se* as a presentative as in (4.151)-(4.153). In many cases it is ambiguous whether *se* functions as copula or presentative (Klingler 2003a:291, Neumann 1985a:247). This presentative function of *se* is common to OLC (4.151), MLC (4.152) and TLC (4.153).

(4.151) *Astère cé ouzotte tour rentré dans chaudière.*
now PRST 2PL.POSS turn enter in cooking.pot
'Now it's your turn to get in the cooking pot.' (FO1895V)

(4.152) *Kote drwat, se pou nòm-ye*
side right PRST for man-PL
'The right side, that's for men.' (M2017EO)

(4.153) *La jòrdi se mokèn tan*
then today PRST 1S.POSS.EMPH time
'Now today, it's my turn.' (T2107BF)

The copula was found to be less frequent than most of the variables analyzed in this chapter (see Table 79, Appendices). To provide enough tokens for quantitative analysis, it would be necessary to collapse distinctions between different forms of the copula and different predicates, which would produce an over-simplified analysis compared to that given in Neumann (1985a). As shown below, the distribution of the copula in my data follows the same pattern observed by Neumann (1985a). Rather than produce an over-simplified rehashing of the analysis in Neumann (1985a), I present data from the LCDC here without quantitative analysis – such an analysis merits its own chapter-length study. New data for such a study will be provided in §7.3.5, which analyzes copula usage in the language revitalization community.

4.3.5.2. Nominal predicates

As in OLC (4.154), in TLC *se* links nominal subjects and nominal predicates (4.155)-(4.157). In these cases, *se* also has a presentative interpretation, however. When the subject is a pronoun, *se*

[54] Observations on adjectival predicates also pertain to prepositional and adverbial predicates (see Neumann 1985a:240ff. for more details).

and Ø vary freely, (4.158)-(4.161). This pattern is also been reported by Klingler (2003a:299) and Neumann (1985a:244).

(4.154) *Mo* *mari* *c'est* *in* *norgue.*
1S.POSS husband *se* INDEF ogre
'My husband is an ogre' (FO1895V)
cf. presentative: 'My husband, he's an ogre.'

(4.156) *Kreyòl* *se* *en* *djambalaya*
Creole COP INDEF jambalaya
'Creole is a jambalaya.'
cf. presentative: 'Creole, it's a jambalaya.'
(T2017MB)

(4.157) *Dolo* *se* *dolo*
Water COP water
'Water is water.'
cf. presentative 'Water, it's water.'
(T2017MR)

(4.158) *Mo* *Ø* *artis*
1S COP artist
'I am an artist.' (T2017PB)

(4.159) *Mo* *Ø* *en* *NAME*
1S COP INDEF NAME
'I am part of the NAME family.' (T2017SC)

(4.160) *Li* *se* *DIRECTOR*
1S COP DIRECTOR
'He is the director.' (T2017DB)

(4.161) *Li* *se* *en* *bon* *piti*
1S COP INDEF good child
'He is a good child.' (T2017CF)

Vacherie MLC conforms largely to these generalizations, also exhibiting variation with pronominal subjects (4.162)-(4.163).

(4.162) *Li* *se* *REGIONAL DIRECTOR*
1S COP regional director
'He is Regional Director.' (M2017ML)

(4.163) *Li* *Ø* *en* *bon* *moun*
1S COP INDEF good Person
'She is a good person.' (M2017EO)

4.3.5.3. Adjectival predicates

As with nominal predicates, adjectival predicates vary in their usage of Ø and *se* with a pronominal subject in TLC (4.164)-(4.165). With a nominal subject, copula usage also appears variable (4.166)-(4.167), though, as in §4.3.5.1, in such cases it is difficult to determine whether *se* functions as a presentative.

(4.164) *Afòs* *mo* *Ø* *kontan.*
So.much 1S COP happy
'I'm so happy.' (T2017DB)

(4.165) *To* *Ø* *FREE* *astèr* *koukou!*
2S COP free now crazy
'You're free now, crazy!' (T2017BB)

(4.166) *Ye* *se* *tou* *ansanm*
3PL COP all together
'You're free now, crazy!' (T2017BB)

(4.167) *Lavi-sila-la* *se* *vit*
Life-this-TOP COP fast
'This life is brief.' (T2017MY)
cf. presentative: 'This life, it is brief.'

4.3.5.4. Dèt

The form *dèt* is unattested in OLC and may be interpreted as a French contact form (cf. Neumann 1985a:66, 251). On the other hand, (*d*)*èt* is also found in MLC (though only rarely, Klingler 2003a:296) and in the French-lexifier creoles of Guadeloupe and Martinique and in early Guianese texts (Klingler 2003a:302), possibly suggesting an earlier origin for this form. Further research is certainly required. Neumann (1985a:251ff.) reports the following functions for *dèt*, which are corroborated by contemporary TLC and Vacherie MLC data: (i) as a copula after auxiliaries (4.168); (ii) after future

marker *va* (4.169); (iii) as an imperative (4.170); (iv) following *pou* ('for') (4.171) (v) before an adjective with an inchoative interpretation ('to get big') (4.172); (vi) to form a passive (4.173).

(4.168) *M ole zòt dèt kontan pou parle kriyòl.*
1S want 2PL *dèt* happy for speak Creole
'I want you to be happy to speak Creole.' (T2017MB)

(4.169) *I MIGHT BE THE QUEEN e kèkèn va dèt THE KING*
I might be the queen and 2PL FUT *dèt* the king
'I might be the Queen and someone will be the King.' (T2017MB)

(4.170) *Dèt pa bèt!*
dèt NEG stupid
'Don't be stupid' (N85LO, Neumann 1985a:252)

(4.171) *Sa te pa kontan pou dèt la.*
3PL PST NEG happy for dèt There
'They were not happy to be there.' (T2017DS)

(4.172) *... li dèt las.*
... 3S *dèt* tired
'He gets tired.' (Neumann 1985a:253)

(4.173) *Yé vœle pa dèt puni.*
3PL VOL.PST NEG *dèt* punish
'They didn't want to get punished' (T2017GL)

Constructions such as (4.172) and (4.173) are noted by Neumann (1985a:253) as syntactic calques on English *get*-constructions or *be*-passives ('get tired, 'be punished'). Syntactic calquing with *dèt* appears more advanced in contemporary TLC. The presence of constructions such as (4.174)-(4.175) suggesting *dèt* is used in calques of English verb *be*. In (4.174), *dèt* contrasts with Ø to give the sense of 'being' or 'acting', while in (4.175) *dèt* appears to function as a calque on English pluperfect *been*.

(4.174) *Si to Ø vayan to gin p <u>dèt</u> vayan itou.*
if 2S COP nice 2S have.to *dèt* nice too.
'If you are nice, you have to *act* nice too' (lit. If you are nice, you have to be nice too.')
(T2017MB)

(4.175) *Mo si telman dèt avèk de malad sa jenn pi mwò.*
1S so much *dèt* with INDEF.PL sick REL bother no.more 1S.OBJ
'I have been around sick people so much that it doesn't bother me anymore.' (T2017BB)

4.3.5.5. Discussion

It was noted above that where *se* has a potential presentative reading when it occurs with a nominal subject with nominal or adjectival predicates. Neumann (1985a:247) concludes that in such contexts *se* is best understood as 'une espèce de présentatif ayant la fonction d'une copule.'[55] She suggests that the presentative function of *se*, found in OLC, has undergone analogical extension to a copular function. Further, Neumann (1985a:247) suggests this will become more established over time and will lead to *se* becoming obligatory. Her conclusions are supported by the TLC data: the only point of variation between *se* and Ø appears when the subject is a pronoun; otherwise, all copular clauses analyzed here employ *se*. These findings should be taken as preliminary: as mentioned above, a full quantitative analysis of the copula in the LCDC remains a desideratum. Variation between *se* and Ø with pronominal subjects represents a good opportunity for a more focused quantitative analysis. Though the LCDC contains no new data on variation between *se* and Ø in these contexts, in §7.3.5, these constructions will be investigated in the context of language revitalization.

In all, the copula presents an interesting case of decreolization which seems to involve both language-external factors and language-internal factors. Neumann (1985a) has argued that the copular usage of *se* is a product of contact with French but also represents an extension of its OLC function as a presentative. This trajectory of internal and external change is backed up by the presence of variation between *se* and Ø with pronominal subjects in TLC and MLC. Use of *dèt* appears to be impacted by contact with English, the result of interplay between creole-lexifier and creole-nonlexifier contact. It may be a recent borrowing from French, though its presence in MLC and in other French-lexifier creoles suggests that it is worth exploring a possible early origin for this form. More recently, it has come to be used as a calque on English verbs *get*-constructions and *be*-passives. Simply labelling these changes 'decreolization' fails to account for the interplay between internal change, changes induced through both contact with French and contact with English.

[55] 'a kind of presentative functioning as a copula'

4.5. Conclusion

The above analysis of 15 morphosyntactic variables has exemplified an approach to language change in creoles which centres around the interplay of language-external, language-internal and sociolinguistic factors. It is this approach, and not decreolization, which can best characterize the instances of language change outlined here.

4.5.1. Sociolinguistic factors

From a historical-sociolinguistic perspective, the changes reviewed here fit well with the account of language shift in Louisiana outlined in Chapter 2, which emphasized the role of variation by region and according to Jim Crow segregation. Diachronic and synchronic analyses performed here demonstrate the importance of these two factors. Today, the speech of white TLC-speakers exhibits extensive morphosyntactic changes induced via contact with French compared to that of their black neighbours. In Vacherie MLC, as in Pointe Coupée MLC (Klingler 2018), there has been less morphosyntactic change attributable to contact with French. This fits well with the diachronic account. Black speakers of Early TLC shows little evidence of contact-induced change, and overall these changes have proceeded at a slower rate than those observed in the speech of white creolophones. White creolophones have been under sustained pressure to accommodate to French, while black creolophones were under much less pressure. These changes take hold in the mid-20th century, close to the point of linguistic 'tip' described in §2.3.4. In addition, the analysis of *bin* (§4.3.3.1) and *stil* (§4.3.4.1) shows that AAE plays an important role in shaping the speech of black creolophones, especially in the verbal domain.

4.5.2. Linguistic factors

Most of the changes reviewed here are induced through contact with LC's lexifier, French, and therefore appear—on the surface—to fit straightforwardly into a decreolization account. Decreolization nevertheless falls down on two broad counts, since changes

(i) are sometimes mediated by language-internal factors; and
(ii) produce forms which cause the creole to diverge from the lexifier.

Neither (i) or (ii) is allowed for in decreolization, which posits that creole-lexifier contact will lead to contact-induced change resulting in the creole adverging to the lexifier. Further, the morphosyntactic changes here appear to contradict the Bickertonian model of decreolization, since the changes observed here

(iii) do not all follow 'new forms first, new functions later' maxim;

(iv) are not 'special cases' of contact-induced change, since similar changes are attested in non-creole languages;

In addition to these four counts on which decreolization falls short, there is the substantial issue of creole-nonlexifier contact which is not accounted for by the decreolization approach. The consequences of contact between LC and English are visible not only in clear-cut cases of transfer, but also in changes motivated through contact with French. Further, these cases of creole-nonlexifier contact all conform to (i)-(iv) above – they are not creole-specific.

In other words, morphosyntactic changes reviewed here are not 'special' (as Bickerton would have it), but quite 'ordinary' in most respects. Worth mentioning, however, are a number of changes that appear far-reaching. The introduction of number and gender agreement on possessive determiners in TLC is remarkable, as is the almost complete overhaul of the determiner system. Undoubtedly, the intensity of contact with French has a role to play here. It also true, however, that LC has seen intensive contact with English, a fact that appears to have had little influence on the morphology of LC. Intensive contact with English only sped up in the years following 1920, indeed, but might there be further linguistic factors to consider? Might the close phonological and lexical correspondence between LC and French produce more wide-reaching changes? If so, is this in fact evidence in favour of a creole-specific decreolization approach to creole-lexifier contact? The answers to these questions are sought in Chapters 5 and 6.

Variable name	Variable forms	Description and classification of change
Determiner Phrase		
Number and gender agreement		
Number: possessive determiners	*me N vs mo N*	Contact with French + internal factors
Gender: Pronoun borrowing	*èl vs. li*	Contact with French + internal factors + possible contact with English
Gender: indefinite determiners	*en N* vs. *enn N*	Contact with French
Gender: possessive determiners	*mo N* vs. *ma N*	Contact with French + internal factors
Definiteness		
Agglutinated nouns	*lamezon* vs. *mezon*	Internal restructuring + contact with French
Definite plural determiner	*le N vs. N-ye*	Contact with French
Indefinite plural determiner	*le N vs. de N*	Internal factors + contact with French
Definite singular determiner	*la* N *vs. N-la*	Contact with French + internal factors
Verb Phrase		
Two-form verbs	*te parl* vs. *parle*	Contact with French
Auxiliary of volition	*ole vs. ve*	Contact with French
Auxiliary of ability	*kapab vs. pe*	Contact with French
Continuative marker	*stil vs. toujou*	Contact with English + internal factors
Remote past marker	*bin*	Contact with English
Copula	*Ø vs. se*	Contact with French + English

Figure 45. Summary of variables analyzed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 5. Phonology

5.1. Introduction

Morphosyntactic changes of the kinds observed in Chapter 4 have been the focus of most studies of decreolization to date; less attention has been given to phonology (Russell 2015:125, cf. §1.2.3.2.2). This chapter tests empirically whether decreolization can truly be distinguished from 'ordinary' processes of phonological change. It analyzes two interacting processes: vowel rounding (§3) and rhotacization (§4). Vowel rounding occurs such that LC front unrounded vowels [i], [e] and [ɛ] are realized as their rounded counterparts [y], [ø] and [œ] where they would be rounded in French (see vowels of LC in Figure 46).[56] Vowel rounding can be described as classic evidence for decreolization. Vowel rounding is ostensibly a reversal of vowel *un*rounding, which canonically operates during the creolization of French-lexifier creoles (Syea 2017). Rhotacization refers to a process whereby the vowels [œ] and [ø] are realized as [ɚ]. Rhotacization is hitherto unattested in the literature on LC or French-lexifier creoles. It will be shown to be an emergent phonological change induced by contact with English. These two processes illustrate the comparative effects of English and French on the phonology of LC, providing scope to compare the effects of contact between a creole and its lexifier and a non-lexifier language. This comparison shows—*contra* Bickerton (1980)—that there is nothing 'special' about decreolization. Rather, contact-induced phonological change in creole languages proceeds as it does in non-creole languages, through a combination of internal, external and extralinguistic factors (§1.1.1).

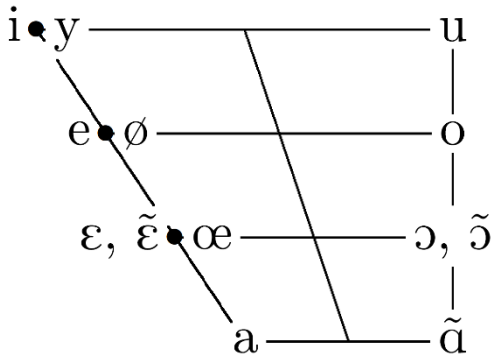

Figure 46. Vowels of Louisiana Creole based on Klingler & Neumann-Holzschuh (2013)

[56] No full phonological analysis of LC has been undertaken (Klingler 2003a:148). Sounds analyzed in this chapter are therefore given in narrow transcription after Klingler & Neumann-Holzschuh (2013).

5.2. Front vowel rounding

5.2.1. Introduction

During the genesis of French-lexifier creoles, vowels canonically undergo a process of unrounding such that French {[y], [ø], [œ] ⟶ [i], [e], [ɛ]} (Syea 2017). In LC, the lack of front rounded vowels has often been cited as a shibboleth distinguishing that language from LF, e.g.: 'The phonologies of [LF and LC] (with few exceptions such as the [LF] retention of the phonemes /y/, /œ/, /ø/) are nearly identical' (Clifton 1979 in Neumann 1985a:54). However, the vowels [y], [ø], and [œ] are attested to varying degrees across contemporary varieties of LC, emerging in line with a word's French etymon: [figir] ~ [figyr] (cf. Fr. /figyr/) 'face'; [vje] ~ [vjø] (cf. Fr. /vjø/) 'old'; [paskɛ] ~ [paskœ] (cf. Fr. /parskœ/) 'because' (Valdman et al. 1998:5). Clearly a result of contact with French, front vowel rounding has been described as phonological decreolization (Morgan 1959, Neumann 1985a, Klingler 2003a). For the methodology of the analysis to follow, see §3.2.1.2.1.

5.2.2. Diachronic analysis

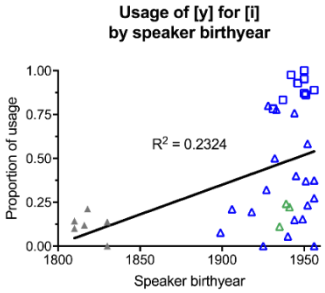

Figure 47. Proportion of [y] *for* [i] *by birthyear* (*linear regression*).

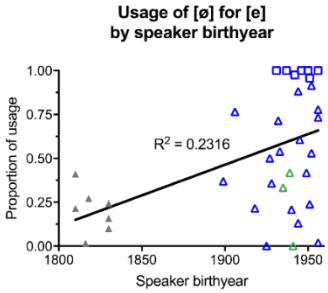

Figure 48. Proportion of [ø] *for* [e] *by birthyear* (*linear regression*).

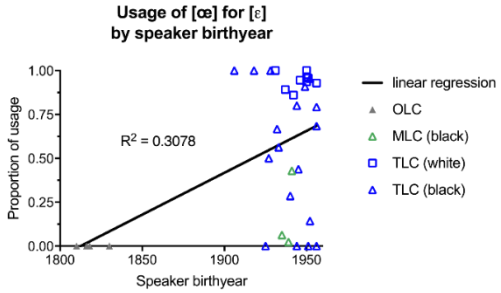

Figure 49. Proportion of [œ] *for* [ɛ] *by birthyear* (*linear regression*).

Linear regressions performed across the LCDC for each pair of vowels (Figure 47, Figure 48, Figure 49) show a steady increase in the proportion of rounded vowels over time. Orthographic analysis found 105 rounded vowels of a total possible 494 (total proportion = 0.21; see Figure 47, Figure 48, Figure 49). As the examples in Table 23 show, all three front rounded vowels are attested in these texts.

Table 23. Examples of orthographic variation indicating vowel rounding in texts FO, CN. Where no unrounded alternative is attested, a reference to the DLC is given.

Rounded	Unrounded	Gloss
[i]~[y]		
<serrure> CN6	*laseri* DLC:425	'lock'
<lécurie> CN6	*lekiri* DLC:139	'stables'
<figur> CN6	<lafigui> Broussard 1942:72	'face'
[e]~[ø]		
<tcheu>	<tché>	'tail'
<vieux> FO15	<vié> FO15	'old'
[ɛ]~[œ]		
<ladjeule> FO02	*ladjèl* DLC:127	'mouth'
<asteur> FO02	<astère> FO08	'now'
<heures> FO04	<hères> CNT6	'hours'

Vowel rounding in LC is well-documented from a synchronic perspective (see §5.2.3); what is less clear is when this process became active. The first explicit mention of this process is in Morgan's 1959 description of TLC, where vowel rounding is seen as an epiphenomenon of the 'reborrowing' of French lexemes (Morgan 1959:21, see Chapter 6). Other early-20th century sources on TLC make no mention of front rounded vowels (Lane 1935, Broussard 1942) and they do not appear in Early TLC texts.[57] A contemporary of Trappey (1916) and Durand (1930)—whose theses form the basis of Early TLC texts DU and TP (§3.2.1.2.2)—Bienvenu (1933) mentions the emergence of front rounded vowels in Early TLC:

[57] There is one token of [y] in TP: the name *Lucien Champagne*, transcribed [lyʃjɛ̃ ʃɔ̃mpɑɲ]. As it cannot be determined for certain that there was a corresponding form ?[liʃjɛ̃], this token is discounted from the analysis.

> "The Negro-French [i.e. LC] in St. Martin parish seems to be passing through a transition period. Since most of the [white] Creoles speak the dialect and the Negroes converse freely with them, the Negroes are imitating the dialect as spoken by the [white] Creoles. And the dialect as spoken by the Creoles is different from the original dialect, particularly in the matter of vowels. The dialect as spoken today by Creoles contains practically all the mixed vowels and I find that the Negroes of today have acquired these vowels. It is not uncommon to hear a Negro pronounce *y* and *oe* [*sic*]. In my transcription, I have purified the dialect of this modern influence."[58] (Bienvenu 1933 in Neumann-Holzschuh 2011:180)

These metalinguistic remarks suggest that—despite their absence in the texts—[y] [ø] and [œ] were in fact present in Early TLC, pervasive amongst white creolophones and 'not uncommon' in the speech of black creolophones (an observation supported by synchronic analysis in §5.3.2).

Orthographic analysis alone is not decisive evidence for the presence of these vowels, and the proportion of vowel rounding in these texts should be interpreted with the caveat that at least some of this variation may stem from orthographic practices. However, taken in tandem with Bienvenu's commentary, there is a good case to suggest that front rounded vowels were present in TLC earlier than has previously been thought, and that their presence may pre-date the divergence of OLC into MLC and TLC.

5.2.3. Synchronic analysis

A total of 2,105 vowels were analyzed in the T2017 and M2017 subcorpora (Table 80, Table 82, Table 84, Appendices). Three logistic regressions were performed on these data, one for each vowel pair ([i] vs. [y] Table 81; [ɛ] vs. [œ], Table 83, Appendices; [e] vs. [ø], Table 85, Appendices). In each model, school segregation emerged as the sole significant predictor of variation.

White creolophones' front vowels overwhelmingly surface in their rounded forms ([i] vs. [y] = 0.90 Figure 50; [ɛ] vs. [œ] = 0.94 Figure 52; [e] vs. [ø] = 1.00 Figure 54), a trend attributable to sustained accommodation to French speakers (see §2.3.4.2). By contrast, the average proportion of vowel rounding for black speakers is below 0.5 for all three vowel pairs ([i] vs. [y] = 0.31 Figure 50; [ɛ] vs. [œ] = 0.40 Figure 52; [e] vs. [ø] = 0.44 Figure 54). As error bars on Figures 5-7 illustrate, there is overall more variation in the black population, indicating that the process of vowel rounding is relatively less established amongst this community. Taken in light of Bienvenu's comments in §5.2.2, it is likely phonological variation patterned along the lines of racial segregation at least as early as 1900 in TLC.

[58] I problematize these various ethnic, racial and linguistic terms in Chapter 2.

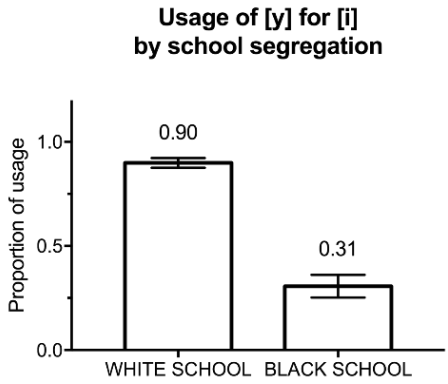

Figure 50. Usage of [y] for [i] by school segregation. Between-groups difference is significant at p < 0.0001 (Mann Whitney)

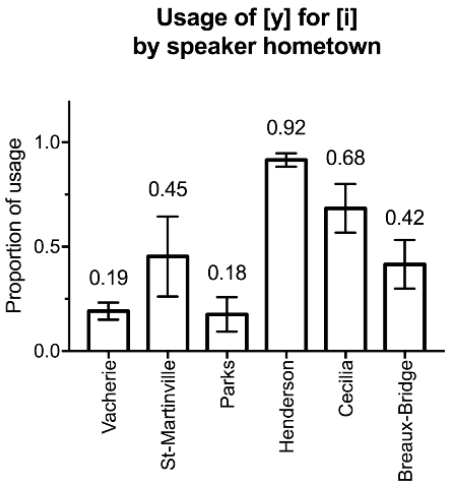

Figure 51. Usage of [y] for [i] by speaker hometown. Difference between MLC (Vacherie) and TLC not significant at p = 0.0981

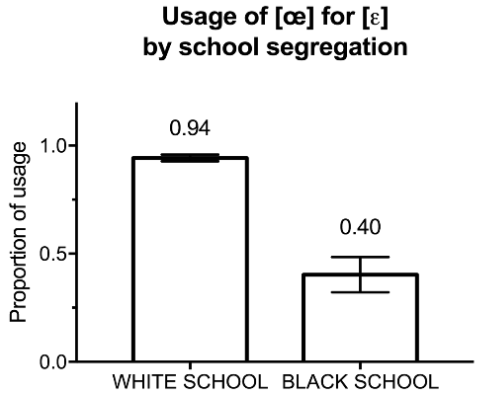

Figure 52. Usage of [œ] for [ɛ] by school segregation. Between-groups difference is significant at p < 0.0001 (Mann Whitney)

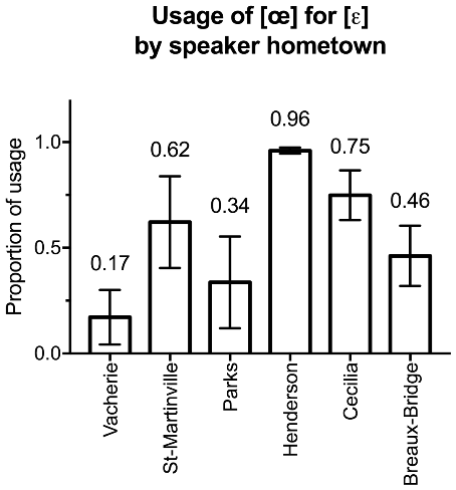

Figure 53. Usage of [y] for [i] by speaker hometown. Difference between MLC (Vacherie) and TLC not significant at p = 0.0950

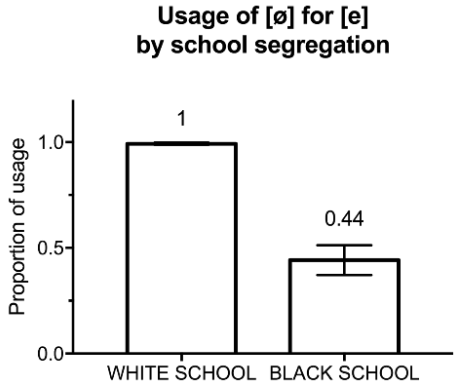

Figure 54. Usage of [ø] for [e] by school segregation. Between-groups difference is significant at p < 0.0001 (Mann Whitney)

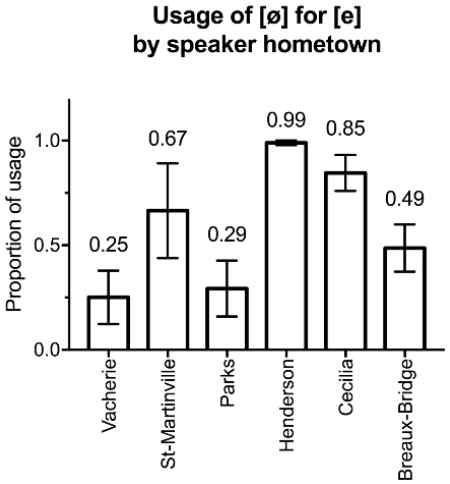

Figure 55. Usage of [y] for [i] by speaker hometown. Difference between MLC (Vacherie) and TLC not significant at p = 0.053 (Mann Whitney)

Varying proportions of vowel rounding are displayed in TLC and examining these data by town reveals this variation also to be a function of racial segregation. Speakers from Parks have the lowest average proportion of rounded vowels, whereas speakers from the predominantly white settlements of Cecilia and Henderson have the highest proportion (see §3.2.2.1 for details). Overall, these trends hold across all three vowel pairs. When compared with the MLC sample from Vacherie, the TLC settlements do not differ significantly in their average proportion of vowel rounding when racial segregation is not taken into account ([i] vs. [y], Figure 51; [ɛ] vs. [œ], Figure 53; [e] vs. [ø], Figure 55).

MLC speakers conform largely to the OLC pattern of vowel rounding. In Vacherie MLC, there were a total of just 41 front rounded vowels out of a possible 261. This results in an average proportion of vowel rounding of 0.19, similar to the proportion of vowel rounding in the OLC texts from the same region (0.21, §5.2.2). A Fisher's exact test performed on these data confirms that there is no significant difference between Vacherie MLC and OLC (two-tailed p = 0.0809; Table 24). This suggests that vowel rounding in MLC has remained stable over time in the absence of contact with French.

Table 24. 2x2 contingency table of vowel rounding data for OLC and MLC in the LCDC.

	Rounded vowels	Unrounded vowels	Total
OLC	105	389	494
MC	41	220	261
Total	146	609	755

5.2.4. Hypercorrect forms

As mentioned in §5.2.1, the process of front vowel rounding is typically expected only in contexts where a word's French etymon would also contain a front rounded vowel. However, Neumann (1985a:87) and Klingler (2003a:150) note front rounded vowels occasionally surface outside of these contexts, a phenomenon also observed in my data. Neumann (1985a:87) attributes these examples to hypercorrection, recording e.g. *duru* [dyry] 'rice' (cf. *diri* [diri] < Fr. *du riz* /dyri/), *lavu* [lavu] 'life' (cf. *lavi* [lavi] < Fr. *la vie* /lavi/). In the Pointe Coupee variety of MLC, Klingler records the form *chœj* [ʃœʒ] 'chair' (cf. *chèz* [ʃɛz] < Fr. *chaise* /ʃɛz/), stating that such forms are used mostly by white speakers (2003a:116, 150). No such forms were found in the MLC data, but TLC data conform to previous scholars' observations and adhere to a tripartite classification (5.1)-(5.3).

(5.1) [i] > [y]: *diru* [diry] (T2017BB,DB), *duru* [dyry] (CF) 'rice' (cf. *diri* < Fr. *du riz* /dyri/)

(5.2) [u] > [y]: *kutum* [kytym] (T2017HW) 'custom' (cf. *koutum* < Fr. *coutume* /kutym/)

(5.3) [e] > [y]: *suriyœ* [syrijœ] (T2017VL) 'serious' (cf. *sériyé* < Fr. *sérieux* /ser(i)jø/)

5.2.4. Discussion

This section has presented an overview of vowel rounding in LC, finding evidence to suggest that this process was active in the language before it diverged into TLC and MLC. Orthographic analysis found front rounded vowels in OLC, with a proportion of vowel rounding similar to that in the contemporary MLC sample. TLC has deviated substantially from OLC and MLC due to contact with French. This trend is especially exaggerated amongst white creolophones, and appears to have emerged at least as early as the start of the 20th century. On the surface, this represents an apparent textbook case of decreolization: LC phonology approaches near-identity with that of the lexifier through the reversal of the process of vowel unrounding that took hold during creolization. Nevertheless, under closer scrutiny, decreolization alone does not account for all changes observed as a result of front vowel rounding.

In the case of hypercorrect front rounded vowels, (§2.3.1) the presence of front rounded vowels clearly results in the divergence of the LC lexicon from that of its lexifier. Consequently, these cases preclude the sole involvement of language-external factors in this phonological process and suggests instead that language-external factors are in interaction with language-internal factors. On this basis, front vowel rounding in LC can be said to involve two stages. First, an externally-motivated rule such that {[i], [e], [ɛ] ⟶ [y], [ø], [œ]}. This rule is lexically sensitive such that it operates only in contexts identical to French. This lexical sensitivity is made possible by creolophones either being bilingual in LF or having a high degree of awareness of the LF lexicon which, as will be shown in Chapter 6, is nearly identical to that of LC. Second, an internally-motivated process extends this rule by analogy outside of contexts where [y], [ø] and [œ] appear in French.

Further evidence of the complexity of front vowel rounding in LC comes from the LF process of vowel *un*rounding, such that {[y], [ø], [œ] ⟶ [i], [e], [ɛ]}, e.g. *tuyaux* 'pipes /tyjo/ ⟶ [tijo] (Blainey 2013:23), identical to the process occurring in creolization. These findings suggest that the phonological processes operative on front rounded vowels are not shared between LC and LF. Such an account is implied by Bickerton's maxim of 'new forms first, new functions later' in decreolization (§1.2.3.2). In this view, LC would first borrow vowels [y], [ø], [œ] ('new forms') from LF and, subsequently, borrow the rule of front vowel *un*rounding ('new functions') which would reverse this

process. Instead, vowels [y], [ø], [œ] obey the two-stage rule described above, which is not found in LF. Turning now to examine rhotacization, it will be further demonstrated that phonological change in LC does not proceed in a creole-specific fashion.

5.3. Rhotacization

5.3.1. Introduction

No previous study has analyzed vowel rhotacization in LC.[59] Phonological discussion of rhoticity in the literature is limited to the rhotic consonant transcribed here as /r/, typically realized as an alveolar tap [ɾ] and more rarely as trill [r] (Neumann 1985a, Klingler 2003a).[60] Contact with English has resulted in the presence of the retroflex approximant [ɻ] in English-origin words. Further, the rhotic consonant is subject to variation conditioned by phonological environment, often weakening in syllable coda and not realized at all (Neumann 1985a:93, Klingler 2003a:146, Klingler & Neumann-Holzschuh 2013; for a diachronic analysis see Klingler 2018).

5.3.2. Analysis

During my fieldwork, it became evident that, for some speakers, the front rounded vowels [œ] & [ø] may be centralized and rhotacized, with close-mid [ø] and open-mid [œ] lowering and raising respectively. The outcome of this sound change is an *r*-coloured vowel transcribed here as <ə˞> [ə˞]. This transcription is used as a general stand-in for a vowel with idiolectal realizations with varying degrees of centralization. The multiple phonetic realizations of this vowel are indicative of the incipient nature of this change-in-progress.

Unlike the well-established process of front vowel rounding, rhotacization is not widespread amongst contemporary creolophones. In total, just 20 tokens of [ə˞] are recorded in the LCDC. Owing to the small number of tokens, this sound change is better served by a qualitative analysis. Since quantitative analysis would overstate the extent to which this change is spread across speakers in the corpus across both space and time. Moreover, including all counts of [œ] & [ø] in the quantitative analysis would have the effect of artificially inflating the overall frequency count for this variable. Given the small number of tokens, it is important to clarify that rhotic vowels are not simply speech errors, false starts or a single speaker's personal pattern variation (Dorian 2010): the

[59] Wendte (2017) records the presence of [ə˞] in the LF of Grand Isle (*quatre* [kat^{h}ə˞] 'four'), though apparently as a result of quite a different phonological process (see §4.3).

[60] The uvular fricative [ʁ], or an approximation, is attested amongst at least some speakers of the now-extinct variety of LC of New Orleans e.g. in recordings of the music of Lizzie Miles.

20 tokens of [ɚ] come from 5 speakers across different settlements who were found to consistently reproduce these vowels in elicitation.

Across the sample of TLC, there are three cases in which rhotacization is identified: in English-origin words;[61] in syllable nuclei with /r/ in coda; in syllable nuclei with no /r/ in coda.

5.3.3. Rhotacization in English-origin words

The occurrence of [ɚ] in English-origin words is not surprising (see §6.4.1 for discussion of phonological convergence), though the lack of comment on this in the literature suggests that vowel rhoticity was either not present in the past or was so rare as to go unnoticed by analysts. In Morgan (1959:21), the English-origin word 'birthday' is transcribed [bərzde]. Although Morgan suggests that the presence of a schwa in this word is a result of English influence, his work makes no mention of any accompanying vowel rhoticity. In the TLC corpus, in one instance of this word, [ɚ] precedes the retroflex approximant [ɻ]: *bɚrtdey* [bɚɻt̪dej] 'birthday' (T2017LW). Such instances might suggest that [ɚ] is simply a phonologically unintegrated English segment. The rhotic vowel can also occur in English-origin words where no rhotic consonant is realized, however, e.g. *bɚdey* [bɚdej] 'birthday' (T2017MB). This suggests that [ɚ] is acquiring a place in the LC phonologies of some speakers.

5.3.4. Syllable nuclei with /r/ in coda

Further evidence for the presence of [ɚ] in the phonologies of some speakers may be seen in forms such as *sɚ* [sɚ] 'sister' (T2017VL). Here, there is an underlying rhotic consonant in coda (which may or may not be realized, see §5.3.1): *sè*(*r*)~*sœ*(*r*). It could therefore be said that the vocalic nucleus is acquiring rhoticity from the coda consonant. This suggests that [ɚ] surfaces as an allophone of [œ] and [ø] in vowel + /r/ sequences only. However, examination of [ɚ] in open syllables suggests that its distribution extends beyond vowel + /r/ sequences.

5.3.5. Syllables with no /r/ in coda

As examples (5.4)-(5.7) illustrate, [ɚ] can surface as an alternative to [œ] & [ø] in syllables where there is no underlying rhotic coda.

(5.4) *nɚvyèm* [nɚ.vjɛm] 'ninth' (T2017BB), cf. *neuvyèm*

(5.5) *djɚl* [dʒɚl] 'mouth' (T2017BB), cf. *djeul*

(5.6) *nɚvɚ* [nɚvɚ] 'nephew' (T2017VL), cf. *neuveu*

(5.7) *dɚ* [dɚ] 'two' (T2017VL), cf. *deu*

[61] For an analysis of English-origin 'lone other-language items' and their status as borrowings or code-switches, see Chapter 6.

Based on these examples, it can be argued that [ɚ] is finding a role as a true allophone of [œ] and [ø], extending beyond its distribution in English-origin words or vowel + /r/ combinations.

5.3.3. Discussion

This section has identified an incipient phonological change in LC whereby [œ] and [ø] surface as a rhotacized central-mid vowel for some speakers. This change is far from established, present for only 5 speakers of TLC in the LCDC. The incipiency of this change is also demonstrated by the multiple phonetic forms as well as the fact that it has not been noted until the present study. Compared to the process of vowel rounding (§3), rhotacization is far less widespread. Its emergent status may be the result of the relatively later influence of English in the Teche region compared to French (see §3.2.2.1). That no tokens of [ɚ] were found in Vacherie MLC may support this conclusion, since those speakers were older on average than those in the TLC sample.

Since decreolization is a framework which accounts only for creole-lexifier contact and not for contact between a creole and a non-lexifier language, it is important to clarify the mechanisms by which rhotacization proceeds and whether these might be impacted by creole typology. A comparison with contexts of English-French contact is therefore particularly illuminating.

An obvious starting point for this discussion is the presence of rhotacized vowels in Laurentian French, especially in Montreal varieties, which have long been attributed to contact with English (cf. Dumas 1972). More recent accounts show that rhotacization is established to the extent that speakers with less English competence also produce these vowels (Mielke 2011:165). Wendte (2017) records the presence of [ɚ] in the LF of Grand Isle, Louisiana (*quatre* [katʰɚ] 'four'). Though this is the result of borrowing and substitution rather than a process of vowel rhotacization, this case provides a useful point of triangulation for the borrowing [ɚ] within Louisiana.

Bullock & Gerfen (2004, see also Bullock & Nichols 2017) identify a process of vowel rhotacization in the French of Frenchville, Pennsylvania which is identical to that described for LC. In Frenchville, vowels [œ] and [ø] are merged to [ɚ] and, as in LC, this occurs even where there is no underlying rhotic coda. According to Bullock & Gerfen (2004), vowels [ɚ], [œ] and [ø] are all marked and—similar to vowel unrounding in LF (Blainey 2013 in §3.3.)—language-internal processes alone would motivate a change away from these forms and towards less marked [ɛ] and [e]. As Bullock & Gerfen (2004:102) state, it is 'highly improbable that a rhotacized schwa would arise in a process of sound change without some external influence … we know of no attested case

outside of contact situations with English in which a language has spontaneously introduced [ɚ] into their [*sic*] vocalic system.' They continue, a change from [œ] and [ø] to [ɚ] is 'relatively conservative from an acoustic and perceptual point of view,' since [ɚ] is in acoustic and perceptual terms the closest English equivalent to [œ] and [ø] (Bullock & Gerfen 2004:102). Levy (2009) presents supporting evidence from L2 learners of French who perceive the English rhotic vowel as similar to [œ], a trend which may be due to the common features of lip rounding and tongue raising found in both of these vowels.

Hualde (2004:205f) suggests a possible trajectory for rhotacization in Frenchville French, namely that [ɚ] first became established in [œ]~[ø] + /r/ sequences. Subsequently, speakers reanalyzed these [ɚ] + /r/ sequences to consist only of the vowel [ɚ]. The vowel [ɚ] was the analogically extended beyond syllables with /r/ in coda:

$$\{[œ], [ø] \rightarrow [ɚ] / \_ r\} \underset{\text{reanalysis}}{\Longrightarrow} \{[ɚr] \longrightarrow [ɚ]\} \underset{\substack{\text{analogical}\\ \text{extension}}}{\Longrightarrow} \{[œ], [ø] \longrightarrow [ɚ] / \_\}$$

As shown in the three contexts examined in §5.3.2, this trajectory is also applicable to the LC data. This change has its origin in English-origin words, where [ɚ] is introduced in mid vowel + [r] sequences (§5.3.2.1), before expanding to mid vowel + /r/ sequences across the lexicon (§5.3.2.2). Through reanalysis and analogical extension, [ɚ] is a variant of [œ] and [ø] for some speakers (§5.3.2.3). It remains to be seen whether this variant will become established and induce a wholesale shift to [ɚ] for [œ] and [ø], though the critically endangered status of LC means that it will probably not be possible to examine this in future studies (though this may be possible in the language revitalization community, see Chapter 7).

As in the case of vowel rounding, the trajectory for rhotacization involves not only language contact, but also the language-internal processes of reanalysis and analogical extension. Crucially, rhotacization is an example of phonological change induced through contact with a language other than the lexifier, a type of contact not accounted for by decreolization. Given that the process of rhotacization so strongly resembles the case of French-English contact in Frenchville, there appears to be little evidence to suggest that there is something creole-specific about this change.

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter has presented analyses of two phonological changes in LC: front vowel rounding and vowel rhotacization. Vowel rounding, driven by sustained intensive contact with French, is

found to have been present in LC since at least the 19th century. It has been argued above that contemporary MLC—represented here by Vacherie data—does not significantly diverge from this 19th century baseline. On the other side of the Atchafalaya Basin, speakers of TLC use far more front rounded vowels than this baseline, a generalization especially true for speakers from majority-white communities. The second process of phonological change, rhotacization, is found to be driven by contact with English and is only attested in TLC. Rhotacization is also far less established than front vowel rounding, possibly due to the comparatively shorter period of time LC has been in contact with English.

Both processes present challenges to the notion of decreolization. Vowel rounding is motivated by contact with French, in an apparently straightforward example of decreolization. However, this change is mediated by language-internal processes. Rhotacization is also a contact-induced change, but in this case results from contact between a creole and a language other than its lexifier, a context overlooked by a decreolization-based account. Moreover, these processes have been shown to interact with each other, something which has not been previously described in the literature on decreolization. The phonological changes analyzed in this chapter have therefore illustrated some of the complexities of contact between LC, French and English and the inadequacies of a decreolization-based explanation.

For these phonological variables (and also for the morphosyntactic variables in Chapter 4), it has been shown that even when a change clearly involves contact with French, the pathway of that change is often mediated or extended by language-internal factors. Front vowel rounding is a case in point: vowels [y], [ø] and [œ] clearly have their origin in French and their presence in LC has increased over time as a result of intensive contact with that language, especially for white speakers. However, the example of hypercorrect forms involves the overgeneralization of this rule by analogical extension, adding a second, internally-motivated stage of change. Decreolization assumes that a creole will always come to resemble its lexifier and such an interpretation is incompatible with the emergence of forms such as *duru* ('rice') which 'deviate' from those of French (cf. Fr. *du riz* /dyri/ 'rice'). Further, that front vowel rounding involves two stages clearly demonstrates that it is distinct from any French phonological process, and cannot be said to constitute the application of a French phonological ruleset onto LC phonology, as presupposed in decreolization. This is reinforced by the presence of an opposite phonological process in LF, front vowel unrounding, which is not operative in LC. While decreolization cannot fully account for front

vowel rounding, mainstream approaches to language contact and change have long recognized the importance of 'multiple causation' (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, see §1.1.1).

Rhotacization may also be attributable to multiple causation. The introduction of [ɚ] into LC is unambiguously motivated by the dominance of English, appearing at first only in English-origin words. Through reanalysis and analogical extension, [ɚ] is now an allophone of [œ] and [ø] for some speakers, indicating a possible future trajectory of language change. Additionally, rhotacization is fed by the process of vowel rounding: [ɛ] and [e] are first rounded to [œ] and [ø], then rhotacized to [ɚ].[62] Each of these interacting processes involves the interplay of external and internal factors, and moving beyond decreolization provides a unified account of both of these changes.

Two major conclusions can be drawn from this analysis. First, contact-induced phonological change change is mediated by language-internal factors and does not proceed in a creole-specific fashion. Second, when a creole is in contact with a language other than its lexifier, the creole does not change in any special or specific way.

The process of front vowel rounding results in the loss of a key, often stereotyped, shibboleth between LC and LF. The next chapter will show the consequences of this in the lexical domain.

[62] It is possible that there is only underlying /e/, which surfaces as [e] or [ɛ] depending on context (e.g. [ɛ] in closed syllables), cf. Neumann 1985a. The phonemic status of [ø], [œ] and [ɚ] is indeterminate: my impression is that no speaker of LC makes a phonemic distinction between [e] and [ɛ] or between [ø] and [œ]; this question merits further research.

Chapter 6. Lexis

6.1. Introduction

In the analyses of morphosyntax and phonology, it has been shown that language change in LC does not proceed in a creole-specific fashion and does not therefore merit a creole-specific, decreolization-based explanation. Discussion now turns to an analysis of the LC lexicon, comparing the results of contact with French and English. English has had an extensive impact on the lexicon of LC. While English influence on the LC lexicon largely conforms to classic accounts of language shift in intensive contact, the context of LC-French contact presents a special challenge in the lexical domain which is of import to this study's assessment of decreolization. By definition, a creole shares most of its lexicon with its lexifier, and this high degree of lexical similarity was outlined as a possible particularity of creole-lexifier contact in §1.2.2.2.. As will be shown in this chapter, the French-related speech varieties of Louisiana exhibit a 'fundamental unity' (Hull 1968:260 cf. Klingler et al. 1997:155, Morgan 1970, Neumann 1985a:53, Valdman et al. 2010, Valdman et al. 1998, von Wartburg 1942). The near-identical lexica of LC and LF make this a remarkable case, even amongst French-lexifier creoles: Haitian shares 60% of its lexicon with French, Seselwa shares 55% (Bollée 1981 cited in Holm 2000:108).

Analysis in this chapter asserts no claim as to whether a given English or French lexical item should be classed according to the contentious dichotomy between borrowings and code-switches. Following Deuchar & Stammers (2016), I instead adopt a 'theory-neutral unit of analysis', with discussion hereafter referring to lone other-language items (LOLIs, Poplack et al. 1988). The term 'language-mixing' is occasionally used after Muysken (2000) to refer to contexts where linguistic material from multiple languages appears in the same utterance. This chapter makes a distinction between content words and function words because they are thought to behave differently in language contact (Thomason & Kaufman 1988:74ff., Muysken 2000:154, Myers-Scotton 2002, cf. §1.1.3.1.4). Second, LOLIs are discussed in terms of whether they fill a lexical gap or replace an existing item (Myers-Scotton 2002, cf. §1.1.3.1.4).

Like Chapters 4 and 5, this chapter proceeds by laying out the linguistic data and subsequently setting them in the context of the research questions. In §6.2, the characteristics of multilingual speech in Louisiana are described according to the typology in Muysken (2000). LOLIs are then described in three dimensions: their frequency (§6.3), the extent to which they are phonologically

and morphosyntactically integrated into English and French (§6.4) and their semantic field (§6.5). To compare the particularities of creole-lexifier contact with those of creole-nonlexifier contact on the LC lexicon, each section is subdivided into discussion of English and French LOLIs. All threads of this analysis are brought together in §6.6, which presents a theoretically-driven account of contact-induced lexical change applicable to both creole-lexifier and creole-nonlexifier contexts.

6.2. Multilingual speech

In Chapter 2, we saw that no known monolingual speakers of LC remain, with all speakers bilingual in English and some also having varying degrees of competence in—but high metalinguistic awareness of—LF. Amongst contemporary creolophones, language mixing is the norm. Most—if not all—LC speakers can be said to operate in what Grosjean (2001) terms the 'bilingual mode' (cf. Brown 2003). That is, when interacting with each other, LC speakers draw on their competence in English and LC (and sometimes also LF, see below). In common with other endangered- and minority-language speakers, interviewees suggested in metalinguistic commentary that the bilingual mode is the usual speech pattern in their communities: 'flip in and out, that's what we normally do' (T2017PB). The goal of this section is to classify this 'flipping in and out' according to the typology of bilingual speech in Muysken (2000), setting the stage for the analysis of LOLIs to follow.

6.2.1. English

While not part of the LCDC, linguistic caricatures in Neumann-Holzschuh (1987) are useful in that they exaggerate stereotypical linguistic features. They feature several single-word English insertions, suggesting that usage of some English LOLIs may have been perceived as typical of LC speakers at this time. Though these texts are all dated to the mid-19th century, this is definitely not too early to preclude the influence of English in Louisiana plantation society. In fact, as Picone (2003) mentions, the mid-19th century saw an increase in sales of anglophone slaves to expanding plantations in Louisiana, demand driven by the burgeoning sugar cane industry (Landry 2016, cf. §2.3.2.2). Examples of English insertions in these texts include: *register* (< En. register NH87:99); *grosri* (< grocery NH87:100); *miting hahouce* (< meeting house NH87:102); *ein Brada* (< a brother NH87:102); *ein gonbotte* (< gunboat NH87:102); *grinbek* (< greenback NH87:103); *Git up! Git up!* (< get up NH87: 104); *gemmen* (< gentleman; NH87:107), *djinkelmaine* (< gentleman; NH87:112); *pritchère* (< preacher; NH87:107); *All Rye* (< all right; NH87:109); *Kongrelèsmaine* (< congressman; NH87:110).

All of these are what Muysken classes as insertions (2000:8), i.e. single or multiple English words inserted into a string of LC. The OLC sample in the LCDC also includes one example of an English insertion (6.1).

(6.1)
Mo crois m a gain pou ***go down*** *et fouyé pou mo zeffets yé.*
1S think 1S FUT have for <go down> and search for 1S.POSS item-PL
'I think I'll have to go down and look for my things.'
(CNT9)

Insertions of English phrases (6.2) or single words (6.3) are commonplace in contemporary LC. These can also be flagged as in (6.4), where the usage of a English-origin item is remarked upon through metalinguistic commentary.

(6.2)

Mo	*gen*	*mwa*	*ON THE WALL*	*epi*	*mo*	*seur*
1S	have	1S.OBJ	<on the wall>	and	1S.POSS	sister

'I have [pictures of] me on the wall and my sister.'
(T2017DB)

(6.3)
Lendmen sete mèm ROUTINE ankò
next.day EX.PST same <routine> again
'The next day, it was the same routine all over again.'
(T2017BB)

(6.4)
se sa enn dan mo ti NEIGHBOUR-ye. I DON'T KNOW HOW TO SAY NEIGHBOUR IN FRENCH.
EX DEM one in 1S.POSS little <neighbour>-PL. <...>
'That's it, one of my little neighbours. I don't know how to say 'neighbour' in French.'
(M2017ML)

In (6.4), this flagging takes the form of an alternation; that is, a string of English discourse following a string of LC discourse (cf. Muysken 2000:8). Alternations between English and LC, e.g. (6.5), are common in contemporary LC.

(6.5)
Pa peu kouri a lekòl paske fale nou sòr no rekòl. Pa peu kouri a lekòl. I THINK IT TEACH ME A LOT OF THING.
NEG ABIL go to school because have.to 2PL take.out 2PL.POSS crop. NEG ABIL go to school. <...>
'[We] couldn't go to school because we had to harvest our crops. Couldn't go to school. I think it taught me a lot of things.'
(T2017LA)

Finally, Muysken's remaining type of language-mixing, congruent lexicalization, is also found in LC-English bilingual speech (cf. Klingler 2005:360). Congruent lexicalization describes cases where the

grammatical structure of a given sentence is more or less congruent between the two languages, and where the sentence draws on the lexica of both languages 'more or less randomly' (Muysken 2000:8). For example, in (6.6) below, the grammatical structures of LC and English are similar, resulting in what might be considered a hybrid sentence, i.e. one lexicalized by both languages without any clear constraints. In essence, the monolingual rendering of (6.6) would be identical in structural terms (as indicated by the gloss); in lexical terms, the sentence is populated arbitrarily by LC and English items which simply 'slot in' to this shared structure without any clear rule. The case of congruent lexicalization is especially important to the understanding of LC-LF bilingual speech.

(6.6)
SO dufeu. NOW si THE WORLD END BY dufeu ...
<so> fire. <now> if <the world end by> fire.
'So, fire. Now, if the world ends by fire...'
(T2017LD)

6.2.2. French

In contrast to the use of English forms across the board, only a subset of 7 speakers produced strings of monolingual LF and bilingual LF-LC speech. In the LCDC speakers RM, VL, HW, CF, GT, LM, PB were found to switch between LC and LF to lesser or greater extents. This group of speakers has diverse reasons underlying their usage of LF, as shown in Table 25.

Table 25. Language biographies for LC-French speakers in the LCDC.

ID	**Linguistic repertoire**	**Language biography**
RM	LC LF	Lives in LF-speaking town; Married to LF-speaker; Teased at school for speaking LC so learned LF to fit in;
VL	LC LF	Learned LF from other children in Cecilia
HW	LC LF RF	Educated in French; worked as a high-school French teacher.
CF	LC LF RF	French son-in-law; attended RF lessons
GT	LC LF RF	Mother and grandfather LF-speaking and RF-educated; RF-speaking friend.
LM	LC LF	Husband LF-speaking
PB	LC LF RF	Mother LF-speaking, grandmother PSF-speaking.

LF insertions are particularly difficult to determine, given the situation of near-identity between the lexica of LC and LF. As will be discussed in §6.5.2, it is only in the functional domain that a dividing line can be tentatively drawn between the two languages. Cases such as (6.7), where the French first-person pronoun *je* appears in an LC utterance, could be described as the insertion of a single word. However, it is difficult to definitively assign the language membership of many of the surrounding lexical items.

(6.7)
JE t ap vini UP tou moun te parl kreyòl.
<1S> PST PROG come <up> all person PST speak Creole.
'When I was growing up everyone spoke Creole'
(M2017MN).

Easier to determine are cases of alternation, where two utterances appear side-by-side and each has clear LC or LF structure. An example of alternation between LF and LC from the LCDC is shown in (6.8). Here, an LC text includes a string of LF, the reported speech of a plantation owner.

(6.8)
Va t'en, Salo, qué jab t'emporte.
va tɔ̃ salo ke dʃab tɔ̃port
'Get out of here, bastard, may the Devil take you.'
(TP01)

Examples are also found in Contemporary TLC. For example, RM uses the LF tag *mais je dis* ('But, I say') while storytelling (6.9), and VL alternates between structures which are clearly definable as LC and LF (6.10).

(6.9)
sa-fe mo garson di: mama kwa ina? MAIS J'DIS: nave kèkchoj ape kouse nouzòt.
so 1S.POSS boy say: mama what EX? <but I say>: EX.PST something PROG chase 1PL.
'So my son says: Mama, what's up? So I say: There was something chasing us.'
(T2017RM).

(6.10)
kèk jour apre li te ene IL EST MORT.
some day after 3S PST born <3S AUX die>
'A few days after he was born, he died.'
(T2017VL)

Still, insertion and alternation alone do not account for linguistic behaviour of these individuals as they fail to describe the cases where combinations of words or phrases are not clearly attributable to either LF or LC. This ambiguity is the rule, rather than the exception. This study defines criteria for determining LF and LC utterances for the sake of transcription based on Klingler (2003b; see §3.2.2.6): in many cases, however, a given utterance cannot be clearly assigned to either language as both lexical items and grammatical structure are congruent (6.11)-(6.13). As Klingler (2005:360) has also noted, Muysken's notion of congruent lexicalization proves useful for analyzing LF-LC mixed speech because it accounts for cases such as (6.11)-(6.13) where the linguistic structures

of languages are congruent, and where the languages share many phonologically similar words ('diamorphs'; Muysken 2000:123). Transcription of (6.11)-(6.13) follows Ledegen (2012), using two tiers to show equivalencies between LF and LC. Also included is a third English tier and a neutral tier in the IPA.

(6.11)

	[tosɛ̃mbleɛ̃gos]			
LF:		semblais	ein	
LC:	to	sanmble	en	
En.:				ghost
Gloss:	2S	seem	INDEF	ghost

'You seemed like a ghost.'
(T2017RM)

(6.12)

	[epitadisɑ̃ŋhodɑ̃tofamij]							
LF:	et puis	t	as	di sang	haut	dans		famille
LC:	epi	t		di sang	ho	dan	to	famiy
En.:								
Gloss:	and	2s	have	blood	high	in	2S.POSS	family

'And you have high blood pressure in your family.'
(T2017VL)

(6.13)

	[onamenelialamezɔ̃aulitaperɾɛste]											
LF:	on	a	menné		à	la	maison	àoù		't'[63]	ap'ès	rester
LC:			mene	li	a	la	mezon	aou	li	t	ape	reste
En.:												
Gloss:	3S.GEN	AUX	take	3S	to	DEF	house	where	3S	PST	PROG	inhabit

'We took him back to the house where we were living.'
(T2017VL)

In examples (6.11)-(6.13) above, congruent LF-LC structures are lexicalized with some items of ambiguous origin e.g. [mezɔ̃] 'house', [ɾɛste] 'stay', [epi] 'and', etc. Other items are clearly attributable to either LF or LC, e.g. LF finite verb *as*, LC pronoun *li*. The question of lexical identity is explored further in §6.4.2 and §6.5.2, and the link between congruent lexicalization and decreolization is discussed in §6.6.3.

[63] < *était*

6.3. Frequency

This section presents quantitative observations on the distribution of LOLIs in the LCDC. A corpus search was performed to extract LOLIs which occurred at the beginning (6.14) or end (6.15) of an utterance, followed or preceded by an LC lexeme; and those which occurred between two LC lexemes (6.16). These minimal contexts were designed to exclude contexts where LOLIs co-occur, identifying only LOLIs which are unambiguously single-word insertions and could not be analysed as part of an extended switch to French or English.

(6.14)
BUT to konne sa mo di?
<but> 2S know REL 1S say?
'But you know what I said?'

(6.15)
Vomye to va an INTERNET.
Ought 2S go on <internet>
'You ought to go on the internet.'
(T2017HW)

(6.16)
Te kouri gete le GAME de plòt.
PST go watch PL <game> of baseball
'[We] went to watch baseball games.'
(T2017BB)

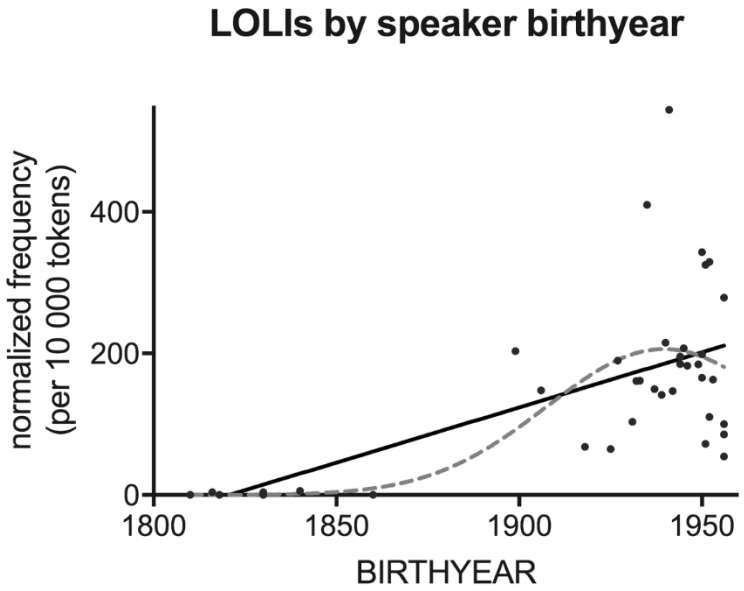

Figure 56. Line graph showing a linear regression (—) and gaussian curve (---) fit to the normalized frequency of LOLI tokens across the LCDC. The linear regression shows a steady increase in LOLIs across time, while the Gaussian curve shows that this peaked for speakers born in the early-mid-20th century.

A total of 1284 LOLI tokens were identified, with 642 types.[64] Of these, only 6 tokens are from OLC texts (FO, CN, DU, TP; see §6.2.). There is an increase in the normalized frequencies of LOLIs over time across all speakers in the LCDC, peaking with speakers born in the in the early-mid-20th century. This pattern is expected given the well-attested trend for obsolescent languages to incorporate large amounts of vocabulary from the dominant language(s) (§1.1.3.2.4), and further attests to the point of linguistic 'tip' in the 1920s described in §2.3.4.

6.4. Integration

This section presents the phonological and morphological forms taken by LOLIs when they enter LC, comparing the integration of French and English LOLIs. As will be shown, regional varieties of Louisiana English (hereafter LE) share some phonological and morphological properties with LC (cf. §4.2.1.1.4), meaning that integration can sometimes be difficult to determine (§6.4.1). The situation for French (§6.4.2) is even more complex, and it may not be possible to determine language membership at all.

6.4.1. English

6.4.1.1. Morphological integration

Since creole morphology is typically isolating, morphological integration is a problematic diagnostic as there are no morphological characteristics which might indicate integration. This is especially true when the superordinate language is analytic, as is the case with English (and, particularly, LE, as shown below). As discussed in §4.3.1, the contemporary LC verb alternates between long and short forms. This alternation can be described as morphological, with long forms taking the suffix *-e*. Thus, English verbs might be expected to appear in the long form V-*e*, e.g. DRIVE-*e*. A search of the LCDC returns no examples of morphologically-integrated English LOLIs in the verbal domain. English-origin verbs always appear in their bare form, i.e. without *-e*. This is true even in contexts where *-e* would be expected for native LC forms, e.g. after *te* in (6.17)-(6.18) (cf. §4.3.1.1.1)

(6.17)
To te TAKE_CARE to koton.
2S PST take care 2S cotton.

[64] 127 tokens of personal names and other proper nouns are excluded from this count. Names of settlements were retained since there are typically distinct names for settlements in LC and LF, e.g. Catahoula: LF/LC /katahulú/, En. /katahúla/ (Morgan 1970:58).

'You took care of your cotton'
(T2017BM)

(6.18)
Sete l premye mo te INTERVIEW pour.
EX.PST DEF.DET first 1S PST <interview> for.
'It was the first [job] I interviewed for.'
(T2017CF)

Despite having the same distribution as other verb forms (e.g. after TAM markers), participles do not occur in their bare form. Instead, they preserve the *-ed* ending (6.19)-(6.20), suggesting that they are analyzed as adjectival in LC.

(6.19)
Mo te IMPRESSED
1S PST <impressed>
'I was impressed.'
(T2017GL)

(6.20)
La li di prezidan OBAMA te gen li TAPPED
then 3S say president <Obama> PST have 3S <tapped>
'Then he's saying President Obama had him wiretapped.'
(T2017BB)

Where an English verb occurs in a passive construction in the present tense, it appears in its bare form. In (6.21), the verb HOOK appears without *-ed*, suggesting that it is analyzed as a verb.

(6.21)
Mo HOOK anho-la
1S <hook>.PASS on.top-TOP
'I'm hooked on it.'
(T2017BB)

These observations should be taken with caution, as they are obfuscated somewhat by Louisiana regional English verbal morphology (see §2.3.2.2 for discussion of LE). LE features dropping of *-s* and *-ed* after stop consonants (*He eat* 'He eats; *They cook* 'They cooked') and zero-copula constructions (*He happy* 'He is happy') (Dubois & Horvarth 2003b).

The same obfuscation is true in the case of nouns, since LE can feature *s*-dropping for plural or possessive nouns. The case of zero-plural nouns in AAE, for example, is well-described (Rickford 1992:185ff., Wolfram 2004:124ff.). Though Dubois & Horvarth (2003) do not discuss this, my field observations confirm that CAAVE also features a zero-plural. It is therefore not clear whether a given

English noun is appearing in a bare form or is in fact a zero-plural. Bearing in mind this caveat, the analysis found that plural English LOLIs typically surface in a bare (or, zero-plural) form and are modified by the pre-posed plural determiner *le* (§4.2.2.2) as in (6.22)-(6.24).

(6.22)
Epi bato-sa-la dan prèsk tou l MOVIE. Se plus en STAR k le STAR.
And boat-DEM-TOP in nearly all DEF <movie>. EX more INDEF <star> than DET.PL <star>.
'And that boat appears more or less throughout the whole movie. It's more of a movie star than the movie stars themselves'
(T2017TL)

(6.23)
Le BUBBLE vyen UP tou kèkchoj kreve dan le kaj.
DET.PL <bubble> come <up> all something die in DET.PL cage
'The bubbles come up and everything dies in the crawfish cages.'
(T2017SC)

(6.24)
Le NEIGHBOUR, ye swongn ma mezon
DET.PL <neighbour> 3PL care 1S.POSS.F house.F
'The neighbours, they take care of my house'
(T2017MM)

Some plural English nouns do appear in LC with English plural *-s*. It is possible that the semantic field of the nouns (6.25)-(6.26) below constitutes a different class from the bare-form nouns in (6.22)-(6.24) above. The nouns SUBURBS (6.25) and SUPPORTERS (6.26) both refer to grouped entities which may contribute to their retention of the English plural morphology since their occurrence in the plural form may be more frequent.

(6.25)
Mo rèste dan le SUBURBS de Pak.
1S stay in DET.PL <suburbs> of Parks
'I lived in the suburbs of Parks'
(T2017MH)

(6.26)
To pa war le jenn moun avèk le SUPPORTERS a TRUMP.
2S NEG see PL young person with PL <supporters> to <Trump>.
'You don't see young people amongst the Trump supporters.'
(T2017BB)

Plural LOLIs were found to appear with the postposed plural determiner *-ye* in Vacherie MLC, as in (6.27)-(6.29). Examples of this kind were not found in the TLC data, reflecting the relative paucity of the postposed determiner in that variety (§4.2.2.4)

(6.27)
EVEN [NAME] èk tou so BUS-ye
<even> [NAME] with all 3S.POSS <bus>-PL
'Even [NAME] with all his buses'
(M2017EO)

(6.28)
Mo NEIGHBOUR-ye va parle mo an kreyòl paske mo fe ye parle mo an kréyòl
1POSS <neighbour>-PL FUT speak 1S in Creole because 1S make 3PL speak 1S in Creole
'My neighbours will speak to me in Creole because I make them speak to me in Creole.'
(M2017ML)

(6.29)
Mo rapèl TOKEN-ye
1S remember <token>-PL
'I remember plantation tokens.'[65]
(M2017MN)

6.4.1.2. Phonological integration

The phonological integration of English LOLIs is similarly complicated by the usage of LE, due to the problem of phonological convergence between the two varieties. In the code-switching literature, this problem of 'accented speech' (i.e. phonological convergence between varieties) represents an obstacle to determining whether a given LOLI is a borrowing or a code-switch and has led researchers gradually to abandon phonological integration as a diagnostic for this classification (see e.g. Poplack & Dion 2012:235, Stammers & Deuchar 2016).

There is some diachronic evidence for some English LOLIs integrating phonologically into LC with regards to vowel rounding and stress placement. English 'Christmas' surfaces in LC as [krismis] or [krismys], the presence of [y] in the latter form suggesting that the process of vowel rounding examined in §5.2 has started to act on that English LOLI. Morgan (1970) transcribes this word with penultimate stress, as in English: [ˈkrismis] cf. English /ˈkɹɪsməs/. In T2017 and M2017 corpora, however, this word occurs in all instances with stress on the final syllable as is typical in LC: [kris'mis], [kris'mys]. Based on this shift in stress and the presence of the front rounded vowel [y], it appears that this LOLI has been integrated over time via the adoption of LC phonological features. The word *krismis* therefore falls into Morgan's category of 'naturalized' loans, alongside *bèdlòk* 'bad luck', *bèk* 'back', *bòs* 'boss', *cherif* 'sheriff', *padna* 'friend' (1970:57). Further evidence for some phonological integration comes from the linguistic caricatures in Neumann-Holzschuh (1987),

[65] For details of the plantation scrip system see §2.3.3, cf. Lurvink (2014, 2018).

where English LOLIs are represented in 'eye dialect' (cf. Picone 2016) presumably meant to convey the heavy phonological influence of LC (see examples in §6.2.1).

While some diachronic data suggest that frequent English LOLIs have been gradually integrated into the phonology of LC, it is difficult to perform a robust synchronic analysis. Though phonological integration is used as the criterion for determining the inclusion of English LOLIs in the DLC (Valdman et al. 1998:iv), they do not state which precise criteria are used. It appears instead that the judgement is primarily impressionistic, viz. it relies primarily on the linguist's own sense of whether a given item conforms to LC phonology. No study of LC or LF has hitherto discussed the integration of English LOLIs in concrete terms, e.g. by outlining a specific checklist of phonological phenomena which can be used to determine integration. It is difficult to see how such a checklist might be devised, given the well-documented phonological similarities between the phonologies LC, LF and LE which include: vowel nasalization, glide reduction, th-stopping, unaspirated stops [p t k] and word-final stress (Carmichael 2013, in press; Dubois & Horvarth 1998, 2003a, 2003b, 2004; Oetting & Garrity 2006). Without a set of specific criteria for determining the phonological integration of a given English LOLI, studies of LC and LF should heed the warnings of code-switching researchers such as Poplack & Dion (2012) and avoid phonological integration as a diagnostic. These phonological phenomena do not, however, limit the linguist's ability to identify LOLIs as originating in English. This contrasts with the situation for French LOLIs, most of which are identical in form to LC lexemes.

6.4.2. French

6.4.2.1. Morphological integration

Chapter 4 has demonstrated the extensive influence of French on the morphosyntax of LC. This influence further complicates the analysis of the integration of French LOLIs. For example, the restructuring of the LC definite determiner system on the basis of contact with French has further resulted in the reanalysis of lexical items with agglutinated elements (see §4.2.2.1). Agglutinated nouns are, largely, specific to the LC lexicon. However, there is no way to determine whether a noun without the agglutinated element (e.g. (*la*)*mezon* 'house') is a French LOLI or simply a reanalyzed LC form.

The same problem holds in the verbal domain. LC's TAM marking system is often cited as a point of divergence between LC and LF, e.g. in the preface to the DLF: 'Although much of [LC's] vocabulary

overlaps with that of [LF], major differences in grammatical structure make [LC] an autonomous language. For example, tense and aspect are not expressed by endings but by short forms preceding a usually invariable verb stem' (Valdman et al. 2010:xii). Closer examination of this generalization reveals a more complex picture. Preverbal auxiliaries in LF can appear as reduced forms identical to LC TAM markers, e.g. *était* [ete] → [te] (Klingler 2016, cf. Dajko 2016:311 on aphaeresis). Similarly, several LC TAM markers already resemble their LF verbal auxiliary counterparts, or have come to resemble them as a result of contact with French (cf. §4.3.2.1, §4.3.2.2).

6.4.2.2. Phonological integration

The usage of front rounded vowels has typically been taken as point of divergence between LC and LF, since they are thought to have been lost during creolization (see Chapter 5). On this basis, lexical items containing these vowels could be assumed to be French LOLIs. This analysis is put forward by Morgan (1959, 1960) who suggests that French words have been 'reborrowed' into LC, keeping their front rounded vowels. In Morgan's analysis, the presence of front rounded vowels in LC is therefore both the result of lexical change and a reliable indicator of whether a given word should be assigned to LC or LF. The first of these assumptions is directly addressed in §5.2, where it was argued that front rounded vowels enter LC through a phonological process. It follows that words with front rounded vowels can no longer be seen as 'reborrowings' from LF, but instead as LC lexemes which have undergone a contact-driven phonological process.

Three phonological processes which have so far gone unmentioned in this thesis are affrication, palatalization and metathesis. Nineteenth-century linguistic caricatures suggest that these were stereotypical features of LC, like the lack of front rounded vowels. Early research on LC assumes that these sound changes emerged during creolization (e.g. Lane 1935, Morgan 1959). If this were the case, the presence of affrication or metathesis might be used as a diagnostic for delineating the lexica of LC and LF, though this is complicated by the fact that these processes are also well-attested in LF (see especially Dajko 2016:311, Dajko 2009:104ff., Lyche 1995, Pirkle 1935). Dajko (2009) shows that these processes vary systematically between settlements and ethnic groups in the Lafourche Basin. It may be possible that their presence or absence in a given lexical item is shared between LF and LC within a given region, rather than representing a clear lexical dividing line between these two languages. These processes are therefore only of limited utility here: any further research on affrication, palatalization and metathesis in LC should also take into account the distribution of these processes in local LF.

The discussion above raises the question of whether it is at all possible to reliably distinguish between LF and LC utterances (cf. Klingler 1997 et al., Klingler 2005). This serious methodological issue is accounted for in §3.2.2.6 by relying on criteria proposed in Klingler (2003b). The theoretical development of this discussion is the focus of §6.5, hinging on the distinction between function words and content words.

6.5. Semantic field

This section presents English and French LOLIs according to their semantic fields, with a view to comparing the distribution of content and function words. The discussion of content words is divided into lexical gap-fillers and lexical replacements (see §1.1.3.2.4).

6.5.1. English

6.5.1.1. *Content words*

In the LCDC, English LOLIs in OLC are confined to just 9 gap-fillers (Table 26). This stands in contrast to the number of lexical-gap fillers found in contemporary LC (Table 27), totalling 446 tokens and 274 types.

Table 26. English LOLIs in texts FO, CN, DU, TP

Type	**Tokens**	**Gloss**
jug	3	jug
sinbotte *stimbot*	2	steamboat
sheriff	2	sheriff
janicake	1	johnnycake
boulknife	1	bowl-knife

Table 27. English LOLIs in the 2017 subcorpus

Type	**Tokens**
drive	13
ride	11
bus	8
bill	8
retire	7
cowboy	7
camp	7
…	
TOTAL	446

In the case of technologies which were introduced before the early-mid-20th century, a French-origin word has sometimes been used in competition with an English LOLI. One example is the English-origin <*stimbot*> (TP06, < En. *steamboat*) and its French-origin counterpart *bato-a-vapèr* 'steamboat' (< Fr. *bateau-à-vapeur*). The French-origin word *glasyèr* ('refrigerator, freezer, icebox', <

Fr. *glacière*) won out and no English equivalent is attested. The competition between English- and French-origin forms has left at least one point of lexical divergence between the two contemporary varieties. For 'car', TLC, like LF, uses *char* (< Fr. *char*) while MLC uses *otomobil* (< En. *automobile*). Contemporary LC continues to receive gap-fillers from English and there is no effort to coin neologisms (apart from in the language revitalization community, see §7.2.3).

The LCDC contains 833 English LOLIs which replace a number of existing LC words (including function words, §5.1.2), though with much variation. Neumann (1985a:72) identifies several English-origin items which have supplanted their original LC counterparts. Examples include *gonn* ('to leave', < En. *gone*; cf. *parti* DLC:353), *smat* ('clever', < En. *smart*; cf. *entèlijan* DLC:144), *min* ('to mean', < En. *mean*; cf. *ve di* Fr. DLC:543), *gròsri* ('groceries', < En. groceries; cf. *kòmisyon* DLC:239), *padna* ('friend', < En. partner; cf. Fr. *ami*).

6.5.1.2. *Function words*

The LCDC also contains examples of English LOLIs replacing function words. This is illustrated in Table 28 by a sample of the most frequent function-word LOLIs and the total number of tokens.

Table 28. Function words appearing as English LOLIs.

Type	**Tokens**
own[66]	14
and[67]	7
up	6
from	5
off	4
…	
TOTAL	63

[66] As in *mo OWN lamen* (T2017DB) 'my own hand', cf. emphatic pronouns in §4.2.1.5.2.1.

[67] As a coordinating conjuction; not a discourse marker.

6.5.1.3. *Discourse markers*

Discourse markers make up 237 English LOLI tokens in the LCDC (Table 29). Discourse markers are controversial both in terms of function and in terms of whether they should be classed as content or function words (Fox Tree 2010). They are therefore treated here in a category of their own. Discourse markers have been widely discussed in the literature on bilingualism, code-switching and language contact from different perspectives (see especially Matras 2000, Myers-Scotton 2002, Poplack et al. 1988). Mougeon & Beniak (1991:212) find that discourse marker LOLIs are characteristic of bilinguals who are in intensive contact with a dominant language and who regularly draw on both languages. This description certainly applies to most LC speakers and is a context which is also thought to be conducive to congruent lexicalization (see §6.6.3).

Table 29. Discourse marker English LOLIs.

Type	**Tokens**
so	84
but[68]	43
now	29
well	27
yeah	10
…	
TOTAL	237

6.5.2. French

This section now turns to the case of French LOLIs in LC, attempting to classify semantically and showing that drawing a clear line between LC and LF lexica is not straightforward. The content-function word distinction, however, reveals that it may be possible to definitively class some items as LC or LF.

6.5.2.1. *Content words*

One way to distinguish the lexica of LF and LC is to concentrate on a given lexeme's semantic function, rather than focusing on phonological form alone. Some LF lexical items in LF are identical in form to their LC counterparts, but with different semantics. This is true in the cases of LC *gen*

[68] Contrastive conjunctions *me*, *mais*, and *but* behave as discourse markers in LC, LF and LE respectively (see Dajko & Carmichael 2014).

'have' and *kouri* 'go' which underwent semantic bleaching during creolization and therefore have more general senses than those of their French etyma *gagner* 'win' and *courir* 'run'. However, aside from these cases, other differences in the semantic function of LC and LF content words are not reliably attested.

Is it possible to speak of LC-specific content words at all? LC is popularly described as containing many Africanisms. Examination by Neumann-Holzschuh (2017) has found only 13 words of African origin in LC. As Table 30 shows, all but one of these Africanisms (*bounda*) are also attested in the DLF. No evidence suggests that these words would have been unknown to monolingual francophones in the past, especially since many of those individuals would have been familiar with or participant in the same cultural practices as their creolophone neighbours. Whether or not these words have been borrowed into LF from LC is a separate question; whatever their trajectory, they can certainly not be used to distinguish between LC and LF lexica.

Table 30. Africanisms in LC identified by Neumann-Holzschuh (2017), their etymology in the DECA and their attestations in the DLF.

LC Africanism	**Gloss**	**DECA Etymology**	**DLF Attestation**
banboula	'drum; drum dance'	Bambara *bambara* 'Bambara'	DLF:57
bouki	Bouki, a folklore character'	Wolof *bukki*	DLF:83
bounda	'buttocks'	Kimbundu *mbunda* 'buttocks'	Not attested
gogo	'buttocks'	Fon *gogó* 'buttocks'	DLF:314
gonbo	'okra; gumbo'	Various; possibly Kimbundu *kingombo* 'okra'	DLF:314
kachanbo, kachimbo	'clay pipe'	Probably Kimbundu *kasimbu* 'pipe'.	DLF:98
kongo	'black person (pej.); moccasin snake'	Kikongo *Kongo* 'Congo (ethnonym)'	DLF:686
makak	'monkey'	Indeterminate Bantu language *kaku* (pl. *makaku*) 'monkey'.	DLF:375
vodou	'voodoo'	Fon *vodún* 'voodoo'	DLF:881
wanga	'fate, luck (voodoo)'	Kikongo *mbwãnga* 'headache; voodoo fetish'	DLF:661
zonbi	'zombie (voodoo)'	Kikongo *zonbi* 'spirit of the dead'	DLF:675

Furthermore, where LF and LC vary by region, they share this regional lexical variation. Klingler et al. (1997:155) have previously suggested that lexical divergence between regions might be considered as an alternative to lexical divergence between LC and LF. Only very few regional lexical

differences exist and these pertain to lower-frequency vocabulary rather than to the core lexicon. The most well-known example of this is the form *kawenn*, which refers to 'alligator snapping turtle (*Macrochelys temminckii*)' in the Mississippi region and 'vagina (vulg.)' in the Teche region (Dajko 2009:86). Other examples include 'tree' (MLC *bwa*; TLC *narb*) and '(my) wife' (MLC *mo madom*; TLC *mo fonm*) (Neumann 1985a:53). Dajko (2009:86ff.) examines the distribution of lexical variants in the Lafourche Basin, demonstrating that LF words vary from settlement to settlement. Similarly, during my fieldwork in Vacherie, speakers' metalinguistic commentary suggested the use of *kouri* vs. *ale* 'go' as a distinguishing feature of their variety compared with those of the nearby settlements of Lucy and Edgard. No tokens of *kouri* were found in their speech, nor in OLC texts from Vacherie (FO1894V). This usage of *ale* rather than *kouri* may stem from early contact with French, though no firm conclusions can be drawn due to a lack of corroborating evidence. Further data collection in settlements along the Mississippi may shed further light on the synchronic distribution of this lexical variant.

Aside from these minor points of regional variation, all semantic evidence supports the relative lexical unity of LC and LF content words. Discussion in terms of French LOLIs is impossible: rather, content words examined here—with only a handful of exceptions—can be classed in Muysken's terms as 'diamorphs' which are identical phonologically and semantically.

6.5.2.2. *Function words*

Function words present a different case entirely. In Chapter 4, it was demonstrated that language contact had resulted in LF function words taking on a role in LC, e.g. determiners (§4.2.1, §4.2.2), verbal auxiliaries (§4.3.2) and the pronoun *èl* (< Fr. *elle*, §4.2.1.2). This subset of function words, largely absent in OLC, are by now well established in the grammars of most speakers of TLC, and significantly less established amongst the control sample of MLC. They have led to change that extends beyond the lexicon and has provoked extensive morphosyntactic restructuring across the LC Determiner Phrase (§4.2.2.5.2).

Another case of a French pronoun used in LC is evident in the analysis of LOLIs. In total 20 tokens of French first person singular subject pronoun *je* [ʒə] appear in the corpus. The case of *je* is particularly significant given the assumption that the LC first person subject pronoun *mo* is usually taken as a shibboleth of LC, and usage of this form is typically used by linguists as a method for distinguishing LC from LF. Of the 20 tokens of *je*, 18 come from speaker MN. In §4.2.1.2.3, MN was

identified as having had exposure to the French of France. If such exposure has indeed influenced his LC, it is evidence that pronouns are particularly salient to LC speakers. Further, this form may be—or have been—more widespread than the LCDC sample suggests. I have found one piece of evidence that *je* was used in early-20th century MLC (6.30). In (6.30), *je* is used with the LC verb 'have' *gen* which is typically not used in LF.

(6.30)

Je	gain	dan	la banc	mille	piastre
JE	have	in	the bank	thousand	dollar

'I have one thousand dollars in the bank.'
(Preamble, *Will and Testament of Troisville David of Pointe Coupée*, 1912;
in Costello & LaFleur 2014)

Further, N. A. Wendte (2018a) records the forms *je* and *mòj* (cf. Fr. *moi, je…*) in the TLC spoken in South-East Texas. Wendte has suggested that the form *je* might be an index of formal register for monolingual speakers (p.c., April 2018), which would fit with its only historical attestation in a will (30). Any formal register is likely to have undergone Campbell & Muntzel's 'stylistic shrinkage' (§1.1.3.1) and may no longer be known to most speakers. This, as well as the fact that interviews were conducted in informal settings (§3.2.2.5), might explain why *je* is found for only 3 speakers in the LCDC and only attested multiple times for MN, who is exceptional.

That LF and LC can be distinguished on the level of (a subset of) function words, but not content words, requires further examination in this thesis. Given the close link between function words and morphosyntactic changes, this will be pertinent to our examination of decreolization in Chapter 8.

6.6. Discussion

Throughout this thesis, it has been argued that language change phenomena in decreolization can be accounted for (and, indeed, are better accounted for) through the application of crosslinguistically-applicable theories of language change. Processes of morphosyntactic and phonological change in LC have been shown to be qualitatively similar to changes in languages not classed as creoles. This holds regardless of whether these changes have been motivated externally through contact with French (the lexifier), externally through contact with English (a non-lexifier), internally through restructuring, or through multiple causation. Variation has been found to be conditioned by sociolinguistic factors, specifically racial segregation and region. The missing link

throughout this discussion has been the lexicon, highly pertinent owing to the lexical near-identity between the creole and its lexifier. This chapter has characterized how the lexicon of LC has been influenced by language contact, and now proceeds to assess their implications for decreolization.

6.6.1. Lexical contact with English

A shortcoming of decreolization is that it fails to account for situations in which the creole is in contact with a language other than its lexifier. Contact with English continues to have a far-reaching impact on variation and change in the LC lexicon, a fact neglected by any analysis of decreolization. English-origin may fill lexical gaps left for new technological or cultural concepts, but also to replace existing LC lexical items in large quantities (§6.5.1). Lexical gap-filling is a strategy adopted by many languages, and extensive lexical replacement is frequent in language obsolescence (§1.1.3.2.4). It has been shown, also, that it is overwhelmingly content words which are incorporated into LC from English (§6.5.1.1), testament to the socio-political dominance of that language. Discourse markers constitute the most frequent type of English LOLI, in line with patterns observed in other bilingual contexts (§6.5.1.3). Convergence between LE and LC mean that it is difficult to devise specific criteria for the phonological integration of English LOLIs (§6.4.2.2.). English LOLI nouns and verbs usually appear in their bare form, without English or LC morphology (§6.4.1). Contact between the English and LC lexica is in no way remarkable when viewed in crosslinguistic perspective, aside from the frequency and rate of lexical replacement which conforms to that observed in many endangered languages (§1.1.3.2.4).

6.6.2. Lexical Contact with French

The case of lexical contact with French is less straightforward. The near-identical lexica of LF and LC makes it difficult to assign a given item definitively to either language. Such lexical near-identity might be seen as a 'special case', which could motivate a creole-specific framework of language contact and change in creoles, i.e. decreolization.

It has been shown that there are few reliable ways for assigning LF and LC distinct lexica. Owing to the considerable morphosyntactic and phonological influence of LF on LC, integration cannot be implemented as a diagnostic of lexicon membership (§6.4.2). Indeed, all content words examined here—aside from e.g. emblematic *gen* and *kouri*—are ambiguous as to whether they are LF or LC. This supports analyses by linguists who have claimed that the French-based varieties of Louisiana share one lexicon (see Klingler et al. 1997).

Importantly, however, some function words are specific to LC and to LF. Contact between these two languages has greatly blurred this distinction and TLC in particular has incorporated a number of LF function words into its morphosyntactic system as seen in Chapter 4. A small number of distinctive LF function words remain, such as the pronoun *je* which is attested in one historical source (30), in East Texas (Wendte 2018a) and in 3 speakers in the LCDC (only one of them using it frequently). It has been suggested that this pronoun might have had a function as part of a formal register.

6.6.3. Congruent lexicalization in creole-lexifier contact

To conclude, it will now be argued that findings on both English and French lexical content in LC can be accounted for within the typology of language-mixing proposed in Muysken (2000). Specifically, the notion of congruent lexicalization can describe LF-LC mixing, as well as LC-English(-LF) mixing. Congruent lexicalization has been applied in variety of contexts to pairs of varieties with varying degree of lexical and structural similarity, including: dialect contact (Ottersum Dutch-Standard Dutch; 2000:127-134; Frisian-Dutch 2000:135-138), language contact (English-Spanish, English-Dutch; 2000:146-149) and creole-nonlexifier contact (Srnan-Dutch; 2000:138-142).

It is first necessary to demonstrate that the necessary sociolinguistic conditions for congruent lexicalization are met in the Louisiana context. Deuchar et al. (2007:309) describe congruent lexicalization as prevalent in contexts of widespread bilingualism where both languages have a more or less equal status. LF and LC have been spoken side-by-side for the past three centuries, both became subordinate to English and, importantly, speakers do not consider them to be clearly distinct (§2.3.6). The dominant presence of English can be explained with reference to the notion of 'dysfluent congruent lexicalization' proposed by Lipski (2009, 2014), which applies to attrited speakers whose language is a subordinate variety, a situation typified by language obsolescence (1.1.1§). Moreover, dysfluent congruent lexicalization is present in contexts where there is no clear social restriction on language-mixing (Lipski 2009:33). In fact, the data Lipski (2009) presents are from Louisiana Spanish-English speech: Louisiana Spanish is in the latter stages of language obsolescence and exists in a broadly similar context to LC and LF.

Having established the case for (dysfluent) congruent lexicalization in Louisiana, this frame of analysis can now be applied to the data reviewed here. The data have shown that it is extremely difficult to determine the lexical membership of a given content word, which may be assigned to

both LF and LC. There seem to be only very few content words which are unique to LC (e.g. *gen*, *kouri*) and, furthermore, the lack of clear criteria to establish the phonological integration of French LOLIs means that LC and LF words are (near-)homophonous in most cases. This is especially true of TLC, which has had more phonological influence from LF than MLC. This description is generally applicable to most creole-lexifier contact situations, for example the case of *prédicats flottants* ('floating predicates') described for Réunnionais and French by Ledegen (2012). Muysken notes that these diamorphs are likely to serve as a triggers for language-mixing and that a preponderance of them will encourage congruent lexicalization (2000:123).

Further, since content words belong to open classes (nouns, verbs), lexical gap-fillers from English can be incorporated into this repertoire. Meanwhile, function words are not diamorphs. LC and LF function words are quite distinct if we compare LF to OLC or MLC. Even in TLC, there are function words which can definitively classified as LF rather than LC (e.g. *je*). Structures which are congruent between LF and LC may be lexicalized by these function words: 'all categories can be switched in congruent lexicalization, including function words' (Muysken 2000:130).

The usage of these function words may begin to index sociolinguistic meaning over time and, if they are viewed as more prestigious, become the target of accommodation. Muysken (2000:123-126) argues that congruent lexicalization is much akin to monolingual variation and style shifting, applying his framework to classic Labovian studies. Historical observations of changes in LC also suggest a role for accommodation, e.g. vowel rounding (see discussion of Bienvenu 1933 in Chapter §5.2).

Further questions on the role of function words and accommodation in language contact and change in LC will be addressed in Chapter 8, where they are considered in light of morphosyntactic and phonological analyses in this thesis as well as the literature on language and dialect contact. For now, this chapter concludes by acknowledging that the apparently special lexical relationship between LC and LF can be adequately accounted for without recourse to the creole-specific frame-of-reference of decreolization. On this basis, the next chapter addresses language change in LC in the context of language revitalization.

Chapter 7. Language revitalization and language change

7.1. Introduction

The three preceding chapters have examined language change in LC during its obsolescence, determining that the trajectory of change does not follow a creole-specific pathway. This chapter now turns to changes occurring as a result of the revitalization of LC. In her study of the revitalization of Breton, Jones (1998b:323) suggests that the development of a particular, revitalized variety may represent 'the pre-terminal phase of some dying languages in particular socio-political contexts'. The broad objective of this chapter is to investigate this possible 'pre-terminal phase' of language change in LC, presenting a quantitative corpus analysis of 5 morphosyntactic variables. This analysis shows the influence of English on LC as used in the language revitalization community, further informing this study's broader investigation into the nature of creole-nonlexifier contact relative to creole-lexifier contact. I tentatively dub the variety examined in this chapter Neo-Louisiana Creole (hereafter NLC, cf. NeSmith 2002 on Neo-Hawai'ian), though, as will be shown, this is something of an overstatement. NLC instead represents emergent norms in the language revitalization community: these are not yet established enough, nor systematically divergent enough from contemporary LC, to merit classifying NLC as a distinct linguistic variety. Instead, for the purposes of this thesis, NLC acts, like MLC, as a control variety to test the creole-specificity of changes in TLC resulting from contact with French. NLC can be seen—like MLC—as having been in intensive contact with English (the L1 of all learners) and not French. More broadly, by providing the first analysis of a revitalized creole, this chapter underscores the potential insights to be gained from treating language variation and change in creoles outside of the creole-specific decreolization frame.

The chapter begins by outlining the kinds of language variation expected in language revitalization within the pluralist frame of language change defined in §1.1.1, addressing linguistic (language-internal, language-external) and sociolinguistic factors (§7.1.2). Examining the orthographic and lexical choices made by the online language revitalization community (§7.2) outlines some important context-specific sociolinguistic factors to consider in the analysis of NLC in §4. The methodology for this analysis is found in §3.3. Findings of the analysis are discussed in §7.4 where they are addressed in relation to other cases of language revitalization of non-creole languages. The chapter concludes in §7.5 by considering whether NLC can be considered a distinct

variety of LC and the extent to which decreolization is applicable to this case of language change in a creole.

7.1.1. Defining the 'new speaker'

Fishman (1991) emphasized intergenerational transmission as a key goal for language revitalization practitioners, entailing the creation of a new generation of speakers who often view the language as integral to their identity (Hinton 2011, Grenoble and Whaley 2006). In keeping with the field's emphasis on speaker typologies (after Dorian 1977, 1981; see §1.1.1.3), studies of minority and endangered languages have recognized these individuals as a distinct category. Despite claims by linguists such as Grinevald & Bert (2011) that these 'neo-speakers' have been overlooked by researchers, they have surfaced in various guises throughout the earlier literature e.g. Dressler (1991), Hewitt (1977), Jones (1996, 1998a, 1998b) on Breton; Trosset (1986) on Welsh; Urla (1993) on Basque and NeSmith (2002) on Hawai'ian. Recently, this group has received special attention under the emergent paradigm of 'new speakers' (hereafter NS), defined as individuals who have 'little or no home or community exposure to a minority language but who instead acquire it through immersion or bilingual education programs, revitalization projects or as adult language learners' (O'Rourke et al. 2015:1). Recent work on NS has concentrated primarily on issues of authenticity and legitimacy; less discussion has focused on the linguistic details of NS production which were emphasized in the earlier literature referenced above (cf. Kasstan 2017).

7.1.2. New speakers and language change

NS are likely to be far more influential in their home community than other kinds of L2 learners, particularly in contexts of critical endangerment, because they may represent the only future of the language (Hinton 2011, Nance 2018). In the LC case, for example, the lack of any intergenerational transmission in the home means that NLC may be the only variety which will still be spoken in two decades' time.

7.1.2.1. Linguistic factors

Since NS are language learners, theories of L2 acquisition can shed light on the varieties they use (Hinton 2011). NS production represents a kind of learner interlanguage (Selinker 1972), i.e. a structured linguistic system that is the outcome of adult L2 acquirers producing the target language. Crucially, interlanguage fossilizes: the learner grammar stabilizes (at a point in time determined by the learner's own exposure to the L2), meaning is never identical to the target grammar (Selinker 1972). Winford draws together the literature on L2 acquisition and language contact to describe the

emergence of new linguistic norms through the 'continuing interaction and competition among individual interlanguage grammars' (2003:236). Winford's discussion, which will be used as a frame of reference here, identifies two processes which occur during this contact between interlanguages: transfer (from the L1 to the L2) and simplification (motivated language-internally and language-externally) (see Chapter 1 for a full discussion of these processes).

The case of *néo-bréttonants* has been much-discussed in the literature (e.g. Dressler 1991, Hewitt 1977; Jones 1996, 1998a, 1998b; McDonald 1989; more recently e.g. Adkins 2013; Hornsby 2015a, 2015b; Kennard 2013, 2018a, 2018b). Amongst other features, the Breton of NS exhibits syntactic constructions calqued on those of their French L1. For example, Hewitt (1977:32) reports the verb *tommañ* 'to warm' (7.1) surfaces in a reflexive form *en em dommañ* (7.2), an innovative usage calqued on French *se chauffer* 'to warm oneself' (7.3) (Jones 1998b:318). The reflexive *en em dommañ* in 'traditional' Breton means 'to take a liking to' (Hewitt 1977:32).

(7.1) *tommañ* *a* *ra* *ouzh* *an* *tan*
warm PRT do.3S by DEF fire
lit. 'He is getting warm by the fire'

(7.2) *en* *em* *dommañ* *a* *ra* *ouzh* *an* *tan*
REFL warm PRT do.3S by DEF fire
lit. 'He is warming himself by the fire'

(7.3) *il* *se* *chauffe* *auprès* *du* *feu*
3S REFL warm.PRS by DEF fire
'He is warming himself by the fire'
(Hewitt 1977:32 as analyzed by Jones 1998b:318)

NS of Breton have also been reported to overuse SVO word order (McDonald 1989; Hewitt 1977:28). Syntactic analysis in Kennard (2018a), however, shows this overuse is mostly exhibited by lower-proficiency younger NS, while older more advanced learners may in fact use more VSO constructions than 'traditional' speakers themselves in order to avoid what they perceive to be French-like constructions (cf. Avézard-Roger 2004).

While transfer has been emphasized in the case of *néo-Breton*, simplification has been the focus of many studies of NS of Native American languages. Here, NS often exhibit a preference for analytic structures rather than 'traditional' polysynthetic structures (Goodfellow 2003, Haynes 2010, Holton 2009, Morgan 2017). Goodfellow (2003) presents a cross-generational study of Kwak'wala

morphosyntax, observing marked differences between the oldest generation and that by the young generation of NS. The data (reproduced in Table 31) illustrate a preference for analytic, rather than polysynthetic structures and that certain morphemes have fallen out of use.

Table 31. Morphosyntax across three generations of Kwak'wala speakers (from Goodfellow 2003:45)

OLDEST GENERATION	MIDDLE GENERATION	YOUNG GENERATION
=ʔstu (eye; door; round opening)		
didəʔsto wipe=eye	didəʔsto wipe=eye	dixidasus gegasus you.wipe your.eyes
=kʷa/=xʷi (hand)		
didənkʷa wipe=hand	didənxʷi wipe=hand	dixidasus asu you.wipe your.hands
=əẋʷ (a person who does an action habitually, professionally; habitual action)		
y'əqəntalenuxʷ talk=person.who.often	dutinuxʷ talk=person.who.often	olakaʔix dutaya really.good talker

As in all language change, it may often be ambiguous whether a given phenomenon is the result of internal or external factors. For example, Morgan (2015, 2017) reports on the avoidance of bound morphology by NS of Chickasaw who have English as their L1. Morgan finds that, in the early stages of the acquisition of Chickasaw, NS use rising intonation (↗) (7.4) rather than the past interrogative suffix *-taam* (7.5). The avoidance of bound morphology might be seen as the result of simplification, but the use of rising intonation might be indicative of transfer from English.

(7.4) Nanta ↗ishapatok
Nanta ish- -apa- -tok
what 2S.I -eat- -PST
'What did you eat?'
Adapted from Morgan (2017:217)

(7.5) Nanta ishpataam
Nanta ish- -apa- -taam
what 2S.I- -eat- -PST.INTERR
'What did you eat?'
Adapted from Morgan (2017:217)

7.1.2.2. Sociolinguistic factors

The language use of NS is not only shaped through linguistic factors but also by the particular sociolinguistic context of language revitalization. It is important to bear in mind that language revitalization is 'also a struggle over what legitimately counts as the language at the centre of the language revitalization effort' and that these contentions are representative of deeper ideological

conflicts (Costa 2016:99). In this way, language-centred ideological conflicts are part-and-parcel of revitalization (Kroskrity 2009).

When language is harnessed as an end to ideological means, certain linguistic features may be iconized: 'linguistic features that index social groups or activities appear to be iconic representations of them, as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence' (Irvine & Gal 2000:37). For example, NS may purposefully adopt regionalisms in order to align themselves with 'traditional' speakers and so appear more authentic. This can lead to the overemphasizing or mixing of features from distinct regions, as has been reported in the case of *néo-Bretonnants* (Hewitt 1977; Jones 1998a, 1998b:316; McDonald 1989). Certain linguistic features may also be harnessed for the purposes of marking group boundaries through 'linguistic differentiation' (Irvine & Gal 2000). The classic example of this is Labov's 1963 study of Martha's Vineyard. Labov observed how the realization of two diphthongs was moving away from the regional norms in the speech of islanders who sought to distinguish themselves as a separate social group from those living on the mainland.

Such processes of differentiation are well-documented in situations of language revitalization, especially on a lexical and phonological level. Blackwood (2009) describes how learners of Corsican prefer not to use French loanwords and instead prefer Corsican coinages. In her more in-depth discussion, Jones (1998a, 1998b) notes that *néo-bretonnants* use such coinages in their variety of Breton, coinages which in their eyes serve to reinforce the 'purity' of Breton. For example, they insist on *kaotigell* instead of *konfitur* (< French *confiture* "jam") (Jones 1998b:317). Haynes (2010) describes how NS of Numu realize some lexical items with ejective consonants, which have historically not been part of the language's phonology but which are common in surrounding languages. This process, termed 'areal hypercorrection' (Haynes 2010), cannot be understood from the perspective of language-internal change or transfer from English (cf. Milroy 2003). Instead, these sounds are used 'to create a perceptual distance from English, and possibly to index speakers' identities as Native Americans' (Haynes 2010:112). Aside from phonological and lexical features, morphosyntactic features may also have the potential to be iconized, though this has hitherto been the focus of much less research.

7.2. New speakers in the Louisiana Creole Virtual Classroom

Language revitalization efforts in Louisiana have overwhelmingly concentrated on French, confining LC to the sidelines (see §2.3.5). However, a diverse group of language learners and activists congregates online, forming in effect the first concerted language revitalization movement for the language. The core of this online community of NS is the *Louisiana Creole Virtual Classroom* (hereafter LCVC), a Facebook group which functions as a forum for language learning and discussions of language activism. Since 2012, I have been conducting a virtual ethnography of the LCVC and, as a participant observer, have been involved in various language-activist projects spearheaded by that community. Fully describing how the LCVC functions falls outside the remit of this chapter; this section focuses on providing background on language-ideological considerations of this community as a context for analysis in section §7.3.

7.2.1. The Virtual Classroom as a Community of Practice

As early work in virtual ethnography by Hine (2000) demonstrates, the internet can provide an environment for the emergence of communities with their own social structures, norms, and rituals (for more recent work see papers in Pink et al. 2016). The LCVC can be best described as a Community of Practice (Lave & Wenger 1991), where the shared practice—language revitalization—brings individuals together to co-construct group identity and ideology. Shared practice results in shared 'beliefs, values, ways of doing things, *ways of talking*' (Eckert 2000:35, emphasis mine; cf. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1995): since the shared practice of the LCVC is language revitalization, language is a particularly salient site for the manifestation of ideological concerns.

The symbolic role of language is further underlined by the online context, where language is static, visual and an important medium for identity construction. Online, we 'type ourselves into being' (Sundén 2003). Linguistic forms can thus be exploited by individuals or groups to construct identities or index ideological orientations. Despite increasingly diverse language practices online (Androutsopoulos & Juffermans 2014), the existence of online language revitalization communities has only recently received attention in the sociolinguistic literature (see e.g. Duane 2018). Communities such as the LCVC offer a rich dataset for the analysis of NS language practices and ideologies.

These are manifested in the activities of individual community members, particularly those described within the Community of Practice approach as a 'core' or 'leader' community members

(Lave & Wenger 1991). The creator of the LCVC is all-round figurehead of LC language revitalization Christophe Landry (cf. §2.3.7). Landry's judgements, language practices and corrections hold considerable sway in the community and are of vital importance to understanding the LCVC.

7.2.2. Orthographic practices

The role of language ideology is immediately obvious in an analysis of the LCVC orthography, which reveals the tensions at the core of the LCVC revitalization movement (see also Mayeux 2014; Wendte 2018b; for examples of this orthography see §7.3, for a reproduction see Table 54, Appendices). The LCVC orthography appeared in an early form in Landry (2003), undergoing several permutations, culminating in the 2016 *Guide to Louisiana Creole Orthography*, which states:

> 'We have revisited previous orthographies used to convey Louisiana Creole, and while well-meaning and useful in academic contexts, we found them inadequate. Consequently, we have abandoned use of French, English and Haitian orthographies altogether to craft a writing system that is both familiar and accessible to Americanized Louisiana Creoles.'
> (Landry et al. 2016)

Based on this material and my own participant observation during the orthography development process,[69] I will outline the underlying ideological concerns indexed by this orthography. The orthography is, first and foremost, touted as an alternative to the system proposed by Klingler (1996) and used in the DLC. Landry contends that the Klingler's orthography is 'inadequate' (see above) not on linguistic grounds, but because he considers it too similar to the orthography devised for Haitian Creole and so deprives LC of its own orthographic representation. Landry's orthography therefore uses e.g. <in> to represent /ɛ̃/, differentiating it from Haitian orthography and Klingler's LC orthography which both use <en>.

Landry's LCVC orthography is also designed to differentiate LC from French. The LCVC community reject any attempts to write LC using a French-based system, since they seek to promote LC as a language in its own right and not as a variety of French.[70] Nevertheless, the LCVC orthography

[69] I was asked to participate in the process of orthography development as a 'consultant linguist'. My contributions to the orthography itself were limited; instead I mostly mediated debates on orthographic representation and added linguistic information (e.g. IPA symbols) to the resulting *Orthography Guide* (Landry et al. 2016). Landry authored the introduction I quote from here.

[70] This emphasis on language boundaries can also be seen in efforts to promote the glossonym 'Louisiana Creole' over 'Louisiana Creole French' in Ethnologue (see Landry et al. 2014). More recently, the LCVC has begun to adopt the label 'Kouri Vini' instead of 'Louisiana Creole'. Landry and others contend that the 'Creole' leads some to compare LC to other French-lexifier creoles and to conflate linguistic and ethnic interpretations of 'Creole' (see Chapter 2). Contention over language naming practices is often involved in the construction of group boundaries in this way, e.g.

features conspicuous reminders of French, rendering /s/ with <ç> in the words <ça> 'that' (DLC: *sa*) and the copula 'çé' (DLC: *se*) and employing a system of 'etymological spelling' whereby nasal vowels are represented with following <m> or <n> depending on their French spelling, e.g. /fɛ̃/ <fim> 'hungry' (Fr. *faim*), <fin> 'end' (Fr. *fin*). This may be a strategy for the construction of linguistic authenticity through the historicization of LC (cf. Mayeux 2014).

Aside from distinctiveness, another concern of the LCVC orthography is ease of acquisition, catering to NS who are without exception literate L1 speakers of English. Namely, the LCVC orthography uses <sh> for /ʃ/ and <ch> for /tʃ/ where the DLC orthography uses <ch> and <tch> respectively. This is also the justification given for the use of <ñ> and <é>, since these appear in familiar words and names, e.g. <jalapeño>, <Beyoncé>.

The LCVC orthography recalls the so-called 'orthography wars' observed in a range of different contexts, where ideological conflict centres around the spelling system to be used in language revitalization (Cahill 2014; Costa 2016:96-97; Hinton 2014; Jones 1998b:305; Lüpke 2011; papers in Jones & Mooney, eds., 2017). Given the visual nature of spelling and how it can be manipulated to construe social meaning (Sebba 2007) it is of no surprise, given the intensely ideological nature of language revitalization, that orthography development may raise any number of 'social, psychological, economic, and historical issues' (Grenoble & Whaley 2006:137). Orthography becomes the 'most obvious terrain' (Costa 2016:96) on which language-ideological debates might be played out: 'orthographies by definition symbolize, naturalize and legitimize difference and/or similarities of a cultural or political origin' (Jaffe 1999:216).

7.2.3. Lexis and neologisms

The lexicon of NLC reveals two further factors for consideration in the morphosyntactic analysis. As mentioned in Chapter 5, all lexical gaps in LC are filled by English. No attempts to create neologisms for LC exist outside of the LCVC. These neologisms can be traced over time, demonstrating how linguistic forms become established in the LCVC and how their normalization is mediated by NS. In October 2014, Landry posted in the LCVC suggesting *plas latwal* (lit. *plas* 'place' *latwal* '(spider) web' as a neologism for 'website' (Extract 1). This is then taken up by a few more members, with 5 occurrences of the term in 2015. In February 2015, learner SK uses the form *website-*

Jones (2008) and Sallabank (2011) on Insular Norman, Léglise & Migge (2006) on 'Takitaki' in French Guiana, Greenberg (2004) on the Balkans case, see also papers in Tabouret-Keller (1997).

la ('website-DEF') remarking on the peculiarity of this form (Extract 2). Advanced learner AGC recalls Landry's use of the term *plas latwal* and suggests this alternative. Then, in May 2015, a post by SK shows that she has herself taken up the term *plas latwal* (Extract 3). This kind of mediated learning happens—and therefore should be examined—across time.

Landry:	Playing around with creolizing modern terms ordinarily used in English. How about "**plas latwal**" for website? Plas = place/site and latwal = web.
Extract 1. 8 October 2014, 11 likes, 1 comment. Landry posts suggesting the neologism *plas latwal* for 'website'.	

NS14:	AGC, ki ça **website-la** dayou mo ka té fé vidéo-yé kréyol [what is the website where I could get Creole videos?] (how do you like that word website-la!! lol)
NS12:	[URL to Thomas Klingler's university webpage] [URL to Skip Oubre's reading of Fortier's folktales on YouTube] (Likes: NS14, NS10)
NS12:	**Website-la** çé miyon. [The word 'website' is cute]. Christophe [Landry] was actually playing around with words one time. He called website "**plas latwal**." It's not written in stone, I don't think, but it sounds good to me. Better than plas fil ['wire'] or plas filé because filé has too many other meanings [i.e. 'wired' or 'dried, ground sassafras leaves']. Anyway, no expert here. kkk [laughter]. (Likes: NS14, NS10)
NS12:	It will be interesting to see how that word and others will evolve with today's Creole speakers. (Likes: NS10)
NS10:	"**plas latwal**" is genius! I'm a strong believer that if a language is going to survive and thrive, its speakers need to create new words to express 21st century concepts instead of just adopting English words. (Likes: NS12, NS14)
Extract 2. 15 February 2015, comment thread. NS14 uses *website-la* and NS12 suggests *plas latwal* as an alternative, NS10 reinforces the notion that use of neologisms is important.	

NS14:	Jou Dis wit [Day 18]: Astœr, M'apé lir tou lésé-le dan LC **plas latwal** a òt vwa. Mo pens c'apé édé mo kompren LC dan mo tendé ça. mo swèt… Now, I'm going to read all the post on the LC website aloud. I think it's going to help me understand LC when I hear it. I hope…
Extract 3. 19 May 2015, 5 likes, 1 comment. NS14 uses *plas latwal* for the first time.	

Like other 'language icons' (Shah & Brenzinger 2018) or 'guardians' (Coulmas 2016), Landry plays an important role here. Ethnographic work has shown that minority-language classrooms act as loci for regulating and promoting the usage of certain linguistic forms (Jaffe 2008, Yilmaz 2018). Jaffe (2008) observed a class in a bilingual (Corsican-French) school, where a L1 Corsican speaker was invited to visit. This speaker occasionally used vocabulary unfamiliar to the children in the classroom, and the teacher—a NS—made a list of these words on the blackboard. However, it was clear that only some words were ideologically acceptable to the teacher. When the native speaker produces French loanwords such as *u crayon* for 'the pencil', these were not written on the

blackboard; instead, the teacher replaced these with 'pure' Corsican equivalents (e.g. *a minna*). Extracts 1-3 demonstrate that such issues must be taken into account in the following analysis.

The above vignette from the LCVC has therefore uncovered three important concerns that may regulate how NS linguistic norms emerge, namely (i) language-ideologies in general, (ii) the establishment of new forms over time and (iii) the role of the teacher. Factors (ii) and (iii) are accounted for by the analysis of comparative subcorpora (see §3.3.2]).

7.3. Analysis

This section presents the analysis of 5 morphosyntactic variables (Table 32) in the *Louisiana Creole Virtual Classroom Corpus* (LCVCC) which have already been discussed in Chapter 4. The methodology for corpus building and quantitative analysis is described in §3.3. These variables are analyzed quantitatively to determine whether there are linguistic norms in the LCVC, how stable they are over time (2012-2015) and the extent to which Landry, the teacher, plays a role in regulating these. Quantitative analyses are presented briefly before being summarized and interpreted. Full discussion of the findings is undertaken in §5.

Table 32. Summary of NLC variables and their forms

DETERMINER PHRASE	Number on nouns	*Pre-posed plural marker*	*le* N
		Post-posed plural marker	N-*ye*
	Definiteness on noun	*Pre-posed definite determiner*	*la* N
		Post-posed definite determiner	N-*la*
	Adjective position	*Pre-nominal adjective*	ADJ N
		Post-nominal adjective	N ADJ
VERB PHRASE	Verb form	*Long form*	e.g. *manje* "eat"
		Short form	e.g. *manj* "eat"
	Copula (COP)	*Overt copula*	*se*
		Zero copula	*Ø*

7.3.1. Number: *le N* vs. *N-ye*

In the LCVCC, both the pre-posed plural determiner *le* (LCVC orthography: <lê>, (7.6)) and the post-posed plural determiner *-ye* (LCVC orthography: <-yé>, (7.7)) appear, regardless of the definiteness of the noun. The use of *-ye* with indefinite nouns in (7.7) represents a departure from the system of contemporary LC, where *-ye* typically occurs with specific plural nouns (§4.2.2.2).

(7.6)
Mo linm etudye **lê** lang
1S like study **LE** language
"I like studying languages."
(NS95, LCVCC)

(7.7)
Rapélé to sourie ojordi, toukékun gin bel sourie-**ye**
Remember 2S.POSS smile today everyone has beautiful smile-**YE**
"Remember your smile today, everyone has beautiful smiles."
(NS14, LCVCC)

7.3.1.1. New speaker norms

Table 33 shows a statistically significant difference in the frequency of pre-posed and post-posed definite determiners in the LCVCC, indicating a preference for *-ye* amongst NS.

Table 33. Frequencies of le and -ye in the LCVCC.

CORPUS	LCVCC	
FORM	*le N*	*N-ye*
TOKENS	39	504
PERCENTAGE	7%	93%
$\chi^2(1)$	398.20	
p	< 0.001	

7.3.1.2. Role of the teacher

The frequency of *le* and *-ye* did not differ significantly between the samples of teacher's and NS language (Fisher's $p = 1$; $\chi^2(1) = 0$, $p_{\chi^2} = 0.9582083$; LL = 0.12, $p_{LL} = 0.7277152$; Table 34).

Table 34. Frequencies of le and -ye in the language of NS only, and the language of the teacher.

SUBCORPUS	New speakers		Teacher	
FORM	*le N*	*N-ye*	*le N*	*N-ye*
TOKENS	36	457	3	47
PERCENTAGE	7%	93%	6%	94%
$\chi^2(1)$	359.515213		38.72	
p	< 0.001		< 0.001	

7.3.1.3. Change over time

A significant difference between the 2012 and 2015 samples indicates that *-ye* has become more frequent over time (Fisher's $p = 0.02727723$; $\chi^2(1) = 3.93$, $p_{\chi^2} = 0.04754234$; LL = 5.1, $p_{LL} = 0.02395842$; Table 35).

Table 35. Frequencies of le and -ye in 2015 and 2012

CORPUS	2012		2015	
FORM	*le N*	*N-ye*	*le N*	*N-ye*
TOKENS	6	27	3	68
PERCENTAGE	18%	82%	4%	96%
$\chi^2(1)$	13.36		59.51	
p	< 0.001		< 0.001	

7.3.1.4. Summary

Overall, NS use the post-nominal plural marker *-ye* more frequently than the pre-posed plural determiner *le*. The distribution of *-ye* in NLC, however, differs from that in the contemporary varieties of LC (cf. §4.2.2.3). In NLC, *-ye* is used to mark both specific and non-specific nouns, whereas in TLC and MLC *-ye* is only combined with specific nouns. In total, non-specific nouns modified by *-ye* made up 63% of the total occurrences of this item. In NLC, *-ye* therefore has the role of a plural marker regardless of the specificity of the noun it modifies, while specific plural nouns are modified using a different strategy (§7.3.2.4). This can be attributed to learners' overgeneralization of *-ye* to non-specific nouns, likely influenced by their English L1 in which the plural suffix *-s* is applied without regard for definiteness or specificity. As with the other variables reported here, the frequency of *-ye* in NS production does not differ significantly from the production of the teacher. However, unlike all other variables apart from *-la* (§7.3.2), there was a significant difference between 2012 and 2015 samples which indicates the preference for *-ye* has emerged over time.

7.3.2. Definiteness: *la N* vs. *N-la*

The LCVCC was examined to determine whether there is a preference for pre-nominal (*la N*) or post-nominal (*N-la*) determiners with singular nouns (for analysis of the pre-posed plural determiner *le* in NLC, see §4.2.2.4). The pre-posed definite determiner *l* was not found in the LCVCC, only *la* (7.8) is used in NLC alongside post-posed *–la* (7.9). NLC also combines post-posed definite and plural determiners to mark plural definite nouns with *-la-ye* (7.10). This pattern is not attested in any variety of LC since OLC (Klingler 2003a:180, §4.2.2.3).

(7.8)

Mo	*gaddé*	***la***	*portré*	*apré*	*maddí gras*
1S	watch	**LA**	film	after	Mardi Gras

'I watched the film after Mardi Gras'
(NS39, LCVCC)

(7.9)

Mo	*té*	*pa*	*rékonné*	*niméro-**la***
1S	PST	NEG	recognize	number-**LA**

'I didn't recognize the telephone number.'
(NS23, LCVCC)

(7.10)

M'	*ap*	*kont*	*minut-**la**-**yé***	*jiska*	*Krismis.*
1S	PROG	count	minute-DEF-PL	until	Christmas

"I'm counting the minutes to Christmas."
(NS17, LCVCC)

7.3.2.1. New speaker norms

A chi-squared test revealed a significant difference in the frequency of pre-posed and post-posed definite determiners (Table 36), showing a preference for *-la*.

Table 36. Frequencies of la N and N-la in the LCVCC

CORPUS	LCVCC	
FORM	*la N*	*N-la*
TOKENS	50	519
PERCENTAGE	9%	91%
$\chi^2(1)$	359.515213	
p	< 0.001	

7.3.2.2. Role of the teacher

Though the frequency counts for *la* and *-la* in the NS and teacher subcorpora, this difference was not found to be significant (Fisher's $p = 0.2967745$; $\chi^2(1) = 0.91$, $p_{\chi^2} = 0.340548$; LL = 1.79, $p_{LL} = 0.1812955$). Both the teacher and the NS display a clear preference for the post-posed definite determiner (Table 37).

Table 37. Frequencies of la N and N-la in the language of NS only, and the language of the teacher

SUBCORPUS	New speakers		Teacher	
FORM	*la N*	*N-la*	*la N*	*N-la*
TOKENS	48	472	2	47
PERCENTAGE	9%	91%	4%	96%
$\chi^2(1)$	345.723077		41.326530 61	
p	< 0.001		< 0.001	

7.3.2.3. Change over time

Frequency counts for each of the two definite determiners were found to differ significantly between 2012 and 2015 subcorpora (Fisher's p = < 0.001; χ^2 = 16.42, p_{χ^2} = < 0.001; LL = 18.28, p_{LL} = < 0.001), showing change in their distribution over time. A statistically-significant preference for *-la* had emerged by 2015, while in 2012 there was no significant difference between usage of the two forms (Table 38)

Table 38. Table comparing the frequencies of la N and N-la in 2012 and 2015.

CORPUS	2012		2015	
VARIABLE	*la N*	*N-la*	*la N*	*N-la*
TOKENS	17	24	5	63
PERCENTAGE	41%	59%	7%	93%
$\chi^2(1)$	1.19512195		49.4705882	
p	0.2743		< 0.001	

7.3.2.4. Summary

The post-nominal determiner *-la* is the preferred strategy for marking specific nouns in NLC. This contrasts with contemporary TLC, where pre-posed determiners are typically employed instead and where *-la* has acquired a discourse function (see §4.2.2.5.1). The system also differs from MLC, since the topic-marking function of *-la* was not observed in the LCVCC. The preference for *-la*, like that for *-ye*, has emerged over time and follows the teacher's language closely.

A closer look at *-la* in combination with *-ye* demonstrates that, overall, the system of post-posed determiners is substantially different to that of contemporary LC varieties. 32% of occurrences of *-ye* were in combination with *-la*, marking the noun as both plural and specific. This further underscores that the function of *-ye* has been extended to a general plural marker. The form *-la-ye* is found in OLC only and is unattested in contemporary LC (Klingler 2003a:180). In all, the NLC determiner post-posed determiner system (Table 39) appears somewhat different to LC as spoken today, and NS usage of post-posed determiners at first appears more closely aligned with OLC.

Table 39. Determiner system of NLC.

	Singular	Plural
Indefinite	*en* N	N-*ye*
Definite	N-*la*	N-*la-ye*

Closer examination shows that the OLC and NLC determiner systems have notable differences. Table 39 shows that the determiner system is built around definiteness, in contrast to the OLC system which is instead based on specificity (see Chapter 4). This subtle difference results in a different distribution of determiners which is in fact more similar to that of contemporary TLC which, according Neumann (1985a:58), has also moved towards a system based on definiteness due to contact with French (§4.2.2). Here, contact with French cannot be an explanatory factor; instead, the influence of English is the likely cause of this phenomenon. The NLC paradigm conforms to that of English, where both definiteness and number are marked on the noun.

Transfer from English cannot be the sole factor in shaping the system in Table 29. If this were the case, it would be expected that the pre-posed determiner would emerge as the preferred form for definite singular and plural nouns on the model of English *the*. Instead, *-la* is used for definite singular nouns and combined with *-ye* for definite plural nouns, which, as mentioned, bears a surface resemblance to the system of OLC. It appears instead that the determiner system has emerged out of an attempt to reintroduce the OLC determiner system on the basis that it has been less influenced by French than e.g. that of contemporary TLC. The form *-la-ye*, which stands out as particularly different to French, is used for the purposes of linguistic differentiation. This pattern has emerged over time as learners follow the example of the teacher.

7.3.3. Adjective position: *ADJ N* vs. *N ADJ*

Adjectives in LC canonically belong to pre-nominal (7.11) or post-nominal classes (7.12). In NLC, adjectives of the post-nominal class may occur both before (7.13) and after (7.14) the noun they modify. Adjectives of the pre-nominal class appear in that position only (7.15). This section examines the extent to which post-nominal adjectives are pre-posed in NLC, as would be expected as a result of transfer from English.

(7.11)

T'	*ap*	*fé*	***vayan***	*djob*	*avek*	*yé.*
you	PROG	do	**great**	job	with	3PL

"You're doing a great job with them."
(NS14, LCVCC)

(7.12)

Shawí ***kanaj!***
child mischevious
"Mischievous raccoon!"
(NS33, LCVCC)

(7.13)

Mo gin un ***okupé*** *semen.*
I have a busy week
"I have busy week."
(NS39, LCVCC)

(7.14)

Mo gin un smènn ***okupé.***
I have a week busy
"I have a busy week."
(NS33, LCVCC).

(7.15)

Tou fanmi kréyol gin un ***gran*** *fanmi!*
all family creole have a big family
"All Creole families have a big family!"
(NS9, LCVCC)

In order to examine the position of post-nominal adjectives, a list of the most frequent 50 adjectives in the LCVCC was drawn up and pre-nominal adjectives (listed in Neumann 1985a and Klingler 2003a) were excluded. What remained was a set of the 19 most frequent post-nominal adjectives in the LCVCC (Table 40).

Table 40. List of the 19 most-frequent post-nominal adjectives in the LCVCC in original orthography.

kréyol ("Creole", 222); *las* ("tired", 97); *frèt* ("cold", 61); *paré* ("ready", 42); *korèk* ("correct", 34); *okupé* ("busy", 29); *shó* ("hot", 24); *fashé* ("angry", 22); *rouj* ("red", 12); *shokolá* ("chocolate", 12); *fyær* ("proud", 10); *nanglé* ("English", 10); *sal* ("dirty", 10); *takalá* ("crazy", 10); *trankil* ("peaceful", 10); *blan* ("white", 9); *fasil* ("easy"); *miyon* ("cute", 7); …

Many words in Table 40 may be interpreted as nouns as well as adjectives (e.g. *kréyol, shokolá*). When a corpus query was made for any of these tokens, the sentence context was examined manually to determine the part of speech. This also allowed the identification and exclusion of adjectives used

as predicates. For instance, though *las* is the second-most-frequent post-nominal adjective in the LCVCC (*N* = 97, Table 40), it never modifies a noun and occurs only as a predicate (e.g. *Mo las.* "I'm tired", Table 41). The process resulted in the removal of 578 adjectives, leaving an overall sample size of 113 post-nominal adjectives. Tokens were classed by whether they post-posed (N ADJ, i.e. in line with contemporary LC), or pre-posed (ADJ N, i.e. in line with English) (Table 41).

Table 41. Frequency counts for N AD J and ADJ N constructions.

ADJ	N ADJ	ADJ N	FREQUENCY
kréyol	48	10	58
las	0	0	0
konten	1	1	2
fret	2	0	2
paré	0	0	0
korèk	0	0	0
okupé	2	6	8
shó	1	1	2
fashé	1	0	1
rouj	10	0	10
shokolá	10	0	10
fyœr	1	0	1
nanglé	3	0	3
sal	3	0	3
takalá	1	0	1
trankil	0	1	1
blan	9	1	10
fasil	0	0	0
miyon	1	0	1
TOTAL	93	20	113

7.3.3.1. New speaker norms

A comparison of N ADJ and ADJ N constructions reveals a significant difference in frequency (Table 42), with a preference for N ADJ constructions.

Table 42. Table comparing the frequencies of ADJ N and N AD J constructions in the LCVCC.

CORPUS	LCVCC	
FORM	N ADJ	ADJ N
FREQUENCY	93	20
PERCENTAGE	82%	18%
$\chi^2(1)$	47.16	
p	< 0.001	

7.3.3.2. Role of the teacher

In the teacher's sample, no ADJ N constructions were found (Table 43). Relying on Fisher's Exact test due to the low number of adjectives in the teacher subcorpus, a significant difference between that sample and the NS subcorpus was revealed (Fisher's p = 0.04247277; $\chi^2(1) = 2.9$, p_{χ^2} = 0.08878941; LL = 7.12, p_{LL} = 0.007635297).

Table 43. Table comparing frequencies of ADJ N and N ADJ constructions in the language of NS and their teacher.

SUBCORPUS	New speakers		Teacher	
FORM	N ADJ	ADJ N	N ADJ	ADJ N
TOKENS	73	20	20	0
PERCENTAGE	78%	22%	100%	0%
$\chi^2(1)$	30.20		20	
p	< 0.001		< 0.001	

7.3.3.3. Change over time

A comparison showed no significant difference between 2015 and 2012 (Fisher's p = 1; $\chi^2(1) = 0$, p_{χ^2} = 1; LL = 0.06, p_{LL} = 0.7997389), demonstrating that the preference for N ADJ constructions has remained stable over time (Table 44).

Table 44. Table comparing frequencies of ADJ N and N ADJ constructions in 2015 and 2012.

SUBCORPUS	2015		2012	
FORM	N ADJ	ADJ N	N ADJ	ADJ N
FREQUENCY	13	2	9	1
PERCENTAGE	87%	13%	90%	10%
χ^2	8.07		6.4	
p	0.0045		0.0114	

7.3.3.4. Summary

Adjectives in NLC largely conform to those observed in contemporary LC, i.e. post-nominal adjectives are mostly postposed as they would be 'traditionally' (N ADJ). Instances of 'traditionally' post-nominal adjectives occurring before the noun can be attributed to L1 transfer from English, where all adjectives are pre-nominal. Such cases were less common overall (18%), and this has remained stable from 2012-2015. The teacher conformed to 'traditional' adjective usage in all cases, providing a model for NS production.

7.3.4. Verb form: *te* V_S vs. *te* V_L

In §4.3.1.1, it was shown that some LC verbs have two forms, the distribution of which is governed by both linguistic and extralinguistic factors. Following the methodology in §4.3.1.1.1, this

section examines the distribution of these forms after the preverbal marker *te*. Both long and short forms occur in NSL. Two-form verbs following *te* occur in both their short (7.16) and long (7.17) forms.

(7.16)

Mo	*té*	***pens***	*ça*	*un*	*nèf*	*paròl*	*pou*	*mò.*
1S	PST	think.V_S	that	INDEF	new	word	for	1S.OBJ

"I thought that was a new word for me."
(NS14, LCVCC)

(7.17)

Yé	*té*	***pensé***	*ça*	*té*	*méyœr*	*pou*	*nou*
3S	PST	think.V_L	that	PST	better	for	2PL

"They thought it was better for us."
(NS12, LCVCC)

7.3.4.1. New speaker norms

A significant difference in the frequency of long and short verb forms after *te* was found (Table 45), suggesting a preference for the long form after *te*.

Table 45. Frequency of long and short verb forms in the LCVCC.

CORPUS	LCVCC	
FORM	Long form	Short form
FREQUENCY	296	19
PERCENTAGE	94%	6%
$\chi^2(1)$	243.58	
p	< 0.001	

7.3.4.2. Role of the teacher

The teacher also displayed a strong preference for the long form (Table 46). No significant difference was found in inter-subcorpus comparison (Fisher's p = 0.4247277; $\chi^2(1) = 2.9$, p_{χ^2} = < 0.08878941; LL = 7.12, p_{LL} = < 0.007635297), suggesting that NS conform to the language of their teacher.

Table 46. Frequency of long and short verb forms in the language of the new speakers and their teacher.

SUBCORPUS	New speakers		Teacher	
FORM	Long form	Short form	Long form	Short form
FREQUENCY	267	17	29	2
PERCENTAGE	94%	6%	94%	6%
$\chi^2(1)$	220.07		23.51	
p	< 0.001		< 0.001	

7.3.4.3. Change over time

Data from 2012 and 2015 both showed the same preference for the long form of the verb following *te* (Table 47), with no significant difference between the two subcorpora (Fisher's $p = 1$; χ^2 (1) = 0, $p_{\chi^2} = 1$; LL = 0.13, $p_{LL} = 0.07197167$). It appears, therefore, that the usage of the long form after *te* has remained constant over that time period.

Table 47. Frequency of long and short forms of verbs in 2012 and 2015.

SUBCORPUS	2015		2012	
FORM	Long form	Short form	Long form	Short form
FREQUENCY	54	2	17	1
PERCENTAGE	96%	4%	94%	6%
χ^2	48.29		14.22	
p	< 0.001		< 0.001	

7.3.4.4. Summary

The data show that it is the long form of the verb which is used after *te*, as opposed to the short form. In this regard, NLC is more similar to TLC than MLC, since in the latter variety it has been shown that short and long forms are in free variation (see §4.3.1.1.2). This pattern has remained stable over time in NLC and can be explained as influence of the teacher, who comes from the Teche region. The NS distribution of verb forms does not differ from that of the teacher, with both following the pattern of TLC. The influence of the teacher therefore leads NLC to preserve a regional feature despite the fact that it has had no contact with French.

7.3.5. Copula: *se* vs. *Ø*

§4.3.5 showed variation in the distribution of the overt copula *se* and the zero copula in TLC and MLC, particularly with a pronominal subject. The same variation exists in NLC, where *se* and *Ø* exhibit variation with both adjectival (7.18)-(7.19) and nominal (7.20)-(7.21) predicates.

(7.18)

Mo	***Ø***	*kréyol*	*é*	*fyé*
1S	COP	Creole	and	proud

"I'm Creole and proud."
(NS5, LCVCC)

(7.19)

Paské ***mo*** *çé* *kréyol*
Because 1S COP Creole
"Because I'm Creole."
(NS35, LCVCC)

(7.20)

Mo *Ø* *un* *dealer*
1S COP a casino dealer
"I'm a casino dealer."
(NS13, LCVCC)

(7.21)

Mo ***çé*** *un* *mœr* *a* *dé* *piti*
1S COP INDEF mother to two child
"I'm a mother to two children."
(NS13, LCVCC)

7.3.5.1. New speaker norms

A comparison of the frequencies of the forms of the copula revealed a significant difference (Table 48). This suggests that, overall, there exists a preference for the zero-copula in NLC. The same held true for comparisons for nominal predicates (Table 49) and adjective predicates (Table 50).

Table 48. Comparison of frequencies of se and the zero-copula in the LCVCC.

CORPUS	LCVCC	
FORM	*se*	∅
FREQUENCY	92	504
PERCENTAGE	15%	85%
$\chi^2(1)$	284.81	
p	< 0.001	

Table 49. Comparison of the frequency of the two forms of the copula with nominal predicates.

CORPUS	LCVCC	
FORM	*se* + N	∅ + N
FREQUENCY	39	51
PERCENTAGE	15%	85%
$\chi^2(1)$	320.643	
p	< 0.001	

Table 50. Comparison of the frequency of the two forms of the copula with adjectival predicates.

CORPUS	LCVCC	
FORM	*se* + Adj	∅ + Adj
FREQUENCY	53	453
PERCENTAGE	10%	90%
$\chi^2(1)$	316.21	
p	< 0.001	

7.3.5.2. Role of the teacher

Isolating the language of the teacher and the language of the NS show that each follows the same pattern observed above. Both groups exhibit a statistically-significant preference for the zero copula (Table 51). When compared, the two subcorpora revealed do not differ significantly (Fisher's p = < 0.547063; χ^2 (1) = 0.28, p_{χ^2} = < 0.5999846; LL = 0.68, p_{LL} = < 0.4104223), suggesting the usage of the copula in the teacher's language is followed closely by the NS.

Table 51. Comparison of the frequency of se and the zero-copula in the language of the new speakers and their teacher.

SUBCORPUS	New speakers		Teacher	
FORM	*se*	∅	*se*	∅
FREQUENCY	76	443	16	61
PERCENTAGE	15%	85%	21 %	80%
$\chi^2(1)$	259.516		26.299	
p	< 0.001		< 0.001	

7.3.5.3. Change over time

A statistically-significant preference for the zero copula was observed in 2012 and 2015 data (Table 52), with no difference between the two subcorpora (Fisher's p = < 0.547063; χ^2 (1) = 0.28, p_{χ^2} = < 0.5999846; LL = 0.68, p_{LL} = < 0.4104223).

Table 52. Comparison of se and the zero-copula in 2012 and 2015.

SUBCORPUS	2015		2012	
FORM	*se*	∅	*se*	∅
FREQUENCY	17	74	5	30
PERCENTAGE	19%	81%	14%	86%
$\chi^2(1)$	35.703		17.857	
p	< 0.001		< 0.001	

7.3.5.4. Summary

A strong preference for the zero copula was observed in the data with the overt copula *se* used less frequently regardless of predicate type. Instances of the usage of *se*, which were relatively infrequent, may result from transfer from English. Ferguson (1971) has argued that copula omission is a universal process of simplification in L2 acquisition, and that the overt copula is less common

crosslinguistically. The preference for the zero copula in NLC held regardless of predicate type. These findings are in line with those of Sharma & Rickford (2009), who find that there is no significant patterning of zero copula usage according to predicate type in the L2 acquisition of English.

7.4. Discussion

This first morphosyntactic analysis of NLC demonstrates that the production of NS is impacted by internal factors such as simplification, external factors such as L1 transfer and, also, by the sociolinguistic context of language revitalization. In this regard—as throughout this thesis—the changes occurring in NLC do not appear to emerge in any creole-specific fashion.

7.4.1. Linguistic factors: Internal and external

There is evidence of transfer from English producing variation in NLC. The post-posed determiners *-la* and *-ye* pattern according to English *the* and *s*-plural, i.e. they are used to obligatorily mark all definite and plural nouns whereas in OLC and MLC their presence is optional. These appear to be true instances of linguistic innovations in NLC motivated through transfer from English. The post-posed determiners *-la* and *-ye* are the only two variables where a comparison of 2012 and 2015 data yields a statistically significant difference. This further suggests that these two variables have emerged through gradual L1 transfer, becoming the established norm as individuals' interlanguage varieties coalescence (cf. Winford 2003 in §7.1.2). Other signs of transfer are evident in the data, but do not emerge as a statistically significant preference in the analysis. The appearance of adjectives that are 'traditionally' post-nominal in pre-posed position, for instance, clearly shows the influence of English word order. Similarly, the copula *se* is sometimes used like the English verb 'to be' with adjective predicates where 'traditional' LC would employ a zero copula. However, it appears that these English-like copula and adjective constructions are effectively being overridden by teacher error corrections. Findings for these variables are not specific to the LC case and conform to cases of transfer in L2 acquisition in language revitalization contexts such the case of NS of Breton reviewed in §7.1.2.1 (cf. Auger 2011 on Picard).

Variables analysed here are also impacted by simplification such as the short forms of two-form verbs appearing after *te*, which could be ascribed to paradigm levelling found in learner interlanguage, as shown for NS of Kwak'wala in §7.1.2.1 (Table 31). Likewise, the preference for the zero copula might be an instantiation of the tendency for copula omission in L2 acquisition

(Ferguson 1971, Sharma & Rickford 2009, cf. Maguire 1991:212 for copula usage amongst NS of Irish). Unlike cases of transfer, these internally-motivated variants do exhibit a significantly higher frequency than their alternatives, establishing them as the preferred variant amongst NS. Their presence cannot be attributed to any creole-specific process of language change but instead to universal processes of L2 acquisition.

7.4.2. Sociolinguistic factors: The role of language ideologies

NS usage of all 5 variables conforms to that of Landry, testament to his influence in the NS community and their linguistic practices. As a consequence of this influence, forms which diverge from contemporary LC usage are brought into line with Landry's own language usage. This is most visible in cases of L1 transfer, where features such as 'traditionally' post-nominal adjectives occurring before the noun stand out as non-target-like (i.e. learner 'errors') production to be corrected by the teacher. The opposite is true in cases of possible simplification, such as the usage of short forms after *te* and the use of the zero copula. The result of simplification in these cases produces which conform to contemporary LC, since TLC features both short forms verbs after *te* and the zero copula. Since these forms are in line with TLC and Landry's own usage, there is no need for them to be regulated by the teacher. It is no surprise that Landry, as the LCVC's teacher, corrects (and therefore influences) his students' language usage in such obvious cases of L1 transfer.

What is more remarkable is that Landry also exerts influence in the proliferation of the form *-la-ye* (-DEF-PL), a construction attested in OLC but not in contemporary TLC or MLC. Since marking definiteness with *-la* and plurals with *-ye* is obligatory in NLC due to transfer in English, the combination of *-la-ye* can be seen as a further consequence of transfer. However, this form would seemingly be recognized as the result of transfer by the teacher, and therefore corrected instead of reinforced by the teacher. The usage of *-la-ye* can be best explained as an example of iconization (cf. §7.1.2.2), here with the purpose of maximally differentiating LC from French. This functions to construct the authenticity of NLC, by 'harkening back' to a version of the language without confounding influence from French and therefore maximally distant from that language. Dominant language ideologies have portrayed LC as a 'broken' form of French; in a similar form to the orthography described in §7.2.2, the NLC determiner system is a subtle method of disrupting dominant language-ideological discourses to emphasize LC as an autonomous, legitimate linguistic system. As mentioned in §7.4.1, the preference for *-la* and *-ye* has emerged gradually over time –

thus, new forms may be introduced gradually into NS varieties by one key member of the language revitalization movement, likely through a process similar to the adoption of neologisms exemplified in §7.2.3. This finding is significant in the context of language revitalization speaking to a need for linguists to carefully consider the role of language figureheads in consciously or unconsciously shaping NS varieties. The data here therefore provide a quantitative perspective on work which highlights the importance of community figureheads in revitalization and standardization (e.g. Coulmas 2016, Jaffe 2008, Sallabank 2013, Shah & Brenzinger 2018). As in Jaffe (2008), it has been shown that language-activist teachers' promotion of certain linguistic variants over others is driven by ideology. Language changes influenced by these sociolinguistic factors are attributed to the context of language revitalization and not to the classification of LC as a creole.

7.5. Conclusion

7.5.1. Neo-Louisiana Creole?

The difference between NLC and contemporary LC is—all things considered—minimal. Indeed, it would certainly be premature to deem NLC a separate variety of LC on linguistic grounds. With the online NS community largely separate to Louisiana's historically creolophone settlements, it remains to be seen whether NLC will ever be perceived by the wider community as a separate variety, let alone whether it will persist at all. If it does persist, (N)LC may arguably be consigned to 'postvernacular' usage as has been suggested for some varieties of Yiddish (Shandler 2006), Occitan (Costa 2015), Guernesiais (Sallabank 2013), Rama and Francoprovençal (Pivot & Bert 2017) where the communicative function of the language is no longer the primary reason for its usage and, instead, its function as an index of group identity is foregrounded. Speakers I interviewed during fieldwork rarely displayed any prescriptivist tendencies (see Chapter 2). It is possible that language planning efforts may introduce the necessary ideological kindling to ignite discourses of linguistic ownership and legitimacy surrounding innovative variants, whether the less frequent forms that have emerged through transfer (e.g. 'traditionally' post-nominal adjectives in pre-nominal position) or more frequent language-ideological forms (e.g. *-la-ye*). The first language primer for LC (Wendte et al. in press), containing both *-la-ye* (§7.4.2) and the LCVC orthography (§7.2.2), will soon be printed and distributed. This may well provoke new discussions of authenticity and language ownership, and the first discussions of 'new' and 'traditional' speakerhood.

7.5.2. Language revitalization, language change and decreolization

Revitalization has the potential to introduce variation into an endangered language, possibly as a 'pre-terminal phase' of its decline (Jones 1998b). Aside from being of interest to studies of language endangerment and revitalization generally, the findings of this chapter have direct implications for the critique of decreolization at the core of this thesis. Though the case is admittedly somewhat artificial due to the disconnect between the online NS community and the traditional speech community, NLC provides a useful laboratory for deepening our analysis of creole-nonlexifier contact, an instance of contact not accounted for in decreolization.

Both NLC and MLC have preserved post-posed determiners *-la* and *-ye* where these have been lost in TLC. Unlike in MLC, in NLC the determiner system has been been fundamentally influenced by transfer from English which has resulted in the obligatory marking of plural nouns with *-ye* and definite nouns with *-la*. The emergence of these 'new forms' certainly does not conform to Bickerton's generalization about decreolization as 'new forms first' borrowing. Likewise, the presence of 'traditionally' post-nominal adjectives in pre-nominal position in NLC shows a strong influence from English which does not occur systematically in any variety of LC and cannot be characterized as the introduction of 'new forms first'. In any case, Bickerton's model of decreolization would not be expected to apply here due to variation in NLC emerging through creole-nonlexifier contact.

Rather taking any creole-specific form, variation in NLC recalls the examples of other NS varieties laid out in §7.1.2, featuring both examples of L1 transfer and simplification. These changes are common to all cases of L2 acquisition, regardless of whether the learners' target language is a creole. Just like other NS varieties, it has been shown that context-specific language-ideological factors have the potential to produce change.

This chapter has considered language obsolescence and decreolization within a very different context to the rest of this thesis. The literature on decreolization makes no claims about what kinds of changes should be expected in language revitalization, nor does it address the context of creole-nonlexifier contact exemplified here. This chapter provides the first analysis of a NS creole variety, demonstrating the new possibilities for research which may be opened up by moving beyond decreolization as a frame-of-reference for language change in creole varieties, a topic to be explored further in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

Chapter 8. Rethinking decreolization

8.1. Language contact and change in Louisiana Creole

Decreolization is a long-standing concept in the literature on creoles. This thesis has set out to test—through a diachronic corpus study—whether decreolization represents a 'special case' of language change, as has been claimed. The analysis in this thesis is based on a purpose-built diachronic corpus, the LCDC, composed of digitized 19th-century texts, 20th-century language documentation and original field data from LC, a critically-endangered language highly suitable for testing decreolization. LC has been in contact with its lexifier, French, and a non-lexifier language, English. 19th century LC (OLC) developed into two regional varieties: one spoken along the Bayou Teche (TLC) and one spoken along the Lower Mississippi River (MLC). TLC is typically described as heavily decreolized, while MLC has less contact with French. Both TLC and MLC are heavily influenced by the now-dominant English. This context proved conducive to examining whether contact between a creole and its lexifier differs substantively from contact between a creole and any other language, and whether in either case the creole undergoes any unique changes.

Chapter 1 discusses how such an examination is especially important given the longstanding and often vociferous debates of the possibly exceptional status of creole grammars. Likewise, decreolization is commonly invoked in studies of creoles despite being ill-defined and largely untested (cf. Patrick 1999). In this concluding chapter, I return to the research question first posed at the beginning of this thesis: Do creole languages change in ways which are distinct from non-creole languages?

Chapters 4, 5 and 6, analyzed morphosyntactic, phonological and lexical change, analyzing 20 linguistic variables from the 19th century, when LC was still widely spoken, to the present day, when LC is critically endangered. Providing more new data for this analysis, Chapter 7 uses a corpus built from Facebook data to examine 5 morphosyntactic variables used by the language revitalization community. Drawing together the findings of these four chapters, this concluding chapter argues that language contact and change in creoles should be analyzed without recourse to the creole-specific notion of decreolization. Instead, it will be shown that the consequences of creole-lexifier and creole-nonlexifier contact can be described by the crosslinguistically-applicable model of

language change by multiple causation outlined in Chapter 1, which involves language-external (§8.2), language-internal (§8.3) and sociolinguistic factors (§8.4). §8.5 addresses the wider implications of the finding that creole languages do not change in specific ways.

8.2. Language-external factors

The majority of changes analyzed in this thesis can be primarily attributed to language contact, between LC and French, on the one hand, and LC and English, on the other. This focus was chosen because decreolization was characterized as a 'special case' of contact-induced change by Bickerton (1980). While these claims have been critiqued by some scholars—and indeed are contradicted by published data (see §1.2.3)—they have not been subject to any focused investigation. Here, I tackle these claims head-on with reference to the morphosyntactic, phonological and lexical analyses in this thesis.

8.2.1. Decreolization: 'New forms first, new functions later'?

§1.2.3.2 introduced Bickerton's definition of decreolization, which was shown to be the only hard-and-fast definition of the supposedly exceptional changes that occur in creole-lexifier contact. According to Bickerton (1980:125), decreolization commences with 'the introduction of a superstrate form with (initially) a characteristically creole meaning, function, and distribution' (Bickerton 1980:125). The introduction of superstrate structures, Bickerton asserts, occurs later (though exactly when or how is not made explicit in his work). Bickerton's approach can be summed up in his aphorism: decreolization involves 'new forms first, new functions later' (Bickerton 1980:126).

As Chapter 1 made clear, Bickerton's decreolization pathway has already been disputed in various studies of language contact, notably by Thomason & Kaufman (1988) who saw Bickerton's model as too vague to be systematically implemented in a linguistic study. In §1.2.3.2, I arrived at a possible interpretation of Bickerton's murky definition. 'New forms first' seems to refer to the borrowing of new lexical material from the lexifier. 'New functions later' implies that the borrowing of this lexical material initially occurs *without* any concomitant transfer of grammatical material. If decreolization really is to be understood in this way, it is hardly unique. It seems no different from lexical borrowing without grammatical borrowing, followed by grammaticalization of the borrowed material. As Mufwene puts it, there is 'little logic in claiming decreolization on the basis of mere lexical substitution without systemic change' (1988:114). Similarly, there appears to be an internal

contradiction in Bickertonian decreolization theory where it is simultaneously supposed that lexifier-origin material behaves in a 'characteristically creole' fashion while at the same time this is supposed to lead to the creole eventually becoming identical (or nearly identical) to its lexifier. For these reasons Thomason & Kaufman (1988:99) argue that: 'the burden of proof should lie on anyone who claims that [decreolization] is wholly different in this aspect from other types of borrowing, and a few examples of "new forms first" borrowing should not shift this burden of proof' (cf. Mufwene 1988:99)

I have attempted to draw out from the analyses in this thesis any examples of linguistic changes which might fit into Bickerton's definition of decreolization, viz. 'new forms' from French which have entered LC without bringing with them any 'new functions'. Examples which fit squarely into Bickerton's definition are scarce. Perhaps the most straightforward example of a 'new form' without a 'new function' is the third person singular feminine pronoun *èl* (§4.2.1.2). This borrowing of the French *elle* follows the syntactic distribution of the LC third person pronoun *li* (e.g. in direct object position), and therefore appears to involve no syntactic transfer. Its function might be said to be 'characteristically creole' (Bickerton 1980:99), insofar as it cannot refer to nouns with feminine grammatical gender (as in French), but only to animate nouns who are understood socially as female (e.g. 'mother'). However, this borrowing is not wholly without systemic consequences: it results after all in a new semantic distinction in the pronominal system between *èl* (third person singular animate, feminine) and *li* (third person singular). Further, this example also points to the contradiction in Bickerton's decreolization theory pointed out by Thomason & Kaufman (1988:99), namely that, although the new form originates in the lexifier, it does not result in the creole becoming overall more similar to the lexifier but instead in the divergence of the former from the latter.

Other potential examples in the morphosyntactic domain are even less straightforward. For instance, the introduction of possessive determiners marked for grammatical gender and number (§4.2.1) are 'new forms' which are undoubtedly French in origin, but which are not simply lexical borrowings. Instead, they bring with them a whole new system of gender and number agreement, which hardly seems a minor change to the creole grammar. Similarly, the singular and plural determiner series consist of new superstrate forms, but these do not simply replace their creole counterparts: instead, they have produced a restructuring of the nominal domain along the lines of French (cf. Neumann 1985a). Another criticism of Bickerton's decreolization mentioned in §1.2.3 is

that it is unclear how it might apply to phonological changes. As far as phonological change in LC is concerned, the introduction of front rounded vowels does constitute the introduction of 'new forms'. However, the example of hypercorrect forms such as [dyry] 'rice' (cf. Fr. *du riz* /dyri/) demonstrates that it is also possible for them to accrue 'new functions' (although it is difficult to understand how Bickerton's 'new functions' might best be conceptualized in the context of phonological change, cf. §1.2.3.2.2).

The conceptual problems with the Bickerton's pathway were highlighted from a theoretical perspective as early as Thomson & Kaufman (1988) and Mufwene (1988). When tested empirically, Bickerton's definition fails to account for the range of changes encountered in creole-lexifier contact, which involve both new forms and new functions.

8.2.2. Decreolization: What about creole-nonlexifier contact?

Decreolization, and the claim that it is somehow special, is built around cases of contact between a creole and its lexifier. Many creoles exist without a dominant lexifier variety and are instead in contact with a non-lexifier language. Decreolization simply fails to account for such cases. This thesis has analyzed a number of linguistic variables which involve straightforward contact with English: 4 in the domain of morphosyntax, 1 in the phonological domain, and an analysis of English LOLIs. None of the changes appear to be special in any way, instead conforming to those observed crosslinguistically in a variety of contact settings.

In the phonological domain, creole-nonlexifier contact has resulted in the rhotacization of vowels [œ ø] and the emergence of a vowel [ɚ]. This appears to be an straightforward phonological change, with the same vowel reported in an almost identical context involving a non-creole language, the French of Grand Isle, Louisiana (Wendte 2017). Further, an analogous process of rhotacization is reported in the French of Frenchville, Pennsylvania (Bullock & Gerfen 2004, Bullock & Nichols 2017, cf. §8.3).

Morphosyntactic changes motivated by contact with English occur chiefly in the verbal domain, with the introduction of the two preverbal markers *bin* (< AAE 'BIN'), *stil* (< En. 'still'). A number of cases also involve interaction between creole-nonlexifier contact and creole-lexifier and/or processes of language-internal change, reviewed in §8.3. The lexical influence of English on LC is pervasive. An analysis of 1,284 tokens of English-origin lexical items in Chapter 6 finds that these conform to classic accounts of lexical borrowing in intensive language contact. English

borrowings both replace their LC equivalents and fill lexical gaps for new concepts. Once again, this hardly represents unique change in the context of language obsolescence (§1.1.3.2.4).

It is also interesting to consider that, despite intensive contact with English, the consequences of creole-lexifier contact have not been undone. For example, it might be expected that the emergence of the gender and number marking on possessive determiners in TLC would be halted or even reversed due to the influence of English, which has no such system. It is perhaps possible that, if LC were not critically endangered, hypothetical subsequent generations of creolophones would display more influence from English in the morphosyntactic domain.

Shedding light on this possibility, Chapter 7 reviewed the language usage of the burgeoning online language revitalization community. Because the *Virtual Classroom* is composed of L1 English speakers and is separate from Louisiana speech communities, linguistic analysis of NLC tests the effects of intensive contact with English without the presence of French. NLC exhibits morphosyntactic innovations in the nominal domain, for example the overgeneralization of *-ye* to mark all plural nouns and *-la* to mark all definite nouns. This 'overuse' of *-ye* and *-la* can be attributed to transfer from English, where plural and definite marking are obligatory. This contrasts with contemporary TLC and MLC, where such a system has not developed despite both varieties' intensive contact with English. NLC further features little innovation in the verbal domain. The different results of these two cases of creole-nonlexifier contact appear due to extralinguistic factors described and are in no way exceptional.

Creole grammar exhibits no exceptional changes when in contact with a language other than its lexifier. Instead, contact-induced changes appear no different to those induced through contact between two non-creole languages. These findings therefore support conclusions in other explorations of creole-nonlexifier contact, namely that 'the idea that a creole in contact with a non-lexifier could be said to be "decreolizing" in the direction of an unrelated standard seems inappropriate' (Snow 2000b:160, see also Aceto 1999, Clements 1996, Migge & Léglise 2011, Russell 2015, Siegel 2010, Snow 2000a).

8.2.3. Decreolization: A unidirectional process?

A further result of the examination of creole-nonlexifier contact has been the uncovering of the influence of local English varieties on LC and *vice versa*. This phenomenon has hitherto gone largely unnoticed in the literature on LC, sometimes resulting in the misidentification of some contact-

induced changes. LC *bin* did not develop from English *been*, but rather from AAE *BIN* (§4.3.3.1). Likewise, the calquing of Louisiana English personal dative constructions into LC has previously been misidentified as a possessive construction (§4.2.1.1.4).

Chapter 6 has further demonstrated that there is substantial phonological convergence between LC and LE, making it difficult to classify a given English LOLI as belonging definitively to the LC or English lexicon. These bidirectional interactions between LC and LE would be expected in any language contact context. As Weinreich (1964:109) notes, even when one variety is dominant this does not preclude the possibility of influence from the substrate. Jones (2015:109), for example, describes that Channel Islands English has a distinctive Norman substrate influence. The bidirectional interaction between LC and LE grammars is not captured by decreolization. Not only is this interaction an example of creole-nonlexifier contact but, additionally, it does not conform to the assumption made in the decreolization literature that the creole adverges to the dominant variety in a unidirectional fashion. This raises the question of whether the creole might have an influence on its lexifier, an interesting direction for further work (and as suggested in the Louisiana context by Baronian 2005).

8.2.4. Decreolization: a 'special case' of contact-induced change?

Discussion in §8.2.1, §8.2.2 and §8.2.3 has shown that changes resulting from creole-lexifier and creole-nonlexifier contact do not exhibit creole-specific properties, and do not fit into any creole-specific model of language change. It has nevertheless been evident that these two superstrates produce different linguistic results in different linguistic domains. Broadly put, English exerts far less influence in the nominal domain than in the verbal domain, while French exerts more influence overall. Changes motivated by contact with English seem unstable, forms originating in French are more established. Further, though they do not follow Bickerton's 'new forms first' maxim, some of the changes in creole-lexifier contact appear particularly far-reaching relative to those in other cases of language contact, for example the emergence of a system of gender and number agreement and the 'reborrowing' (Morgan 1959) of front rounded vowels. Some of this variation is certainly due to extralinguistic factors which dictate the intensity of contact, a topic to tackled in §8.4. For now, it is necessary to address whether there is anything inherent to the *linguistic* relationships between a creole and its lexifier which might produce particularly far-reaching change relative to creole-nonlexifier contact. Chapter 6 has highlighted the close lexical relationship between LC and LF, a

relationship which is common to all creole-lexifier contact contexts. Certainly, it would be remiss to ignore the potential significance of such a close lexical relationship and whether it might drive particularly far-reaching changes which might justify the creole-specific decreolization frame. This section turns back to the literature on language and dialect contact to argue that, despite the close lexical relationship between a creole and its lexifier, both creole-lexifier and creole-nonlexifier contact can be positioned as forms of language contact *without* any creole-specific considerations.

8.2.4.1. Linguistic similarity in contact-induced change

To begin, I revisit the discussion of lexical and structural similarity which emerged in the review of the literature on decreolization §1.2.2.2. Since the work of Weinreich (1979) and Thomason & Kaufman (1988), the basic concept of *linguistic similarity* has been a keystone in the literature on language contact, usually described in two dimensions: typological similarity (also referred to as structural or grammatical similarity) and lexical similarity.

According to Weinreich (1979:33), 'the transfer of morphemes is facilitated between highly congruent structures'. Thomason & Kaufman (1988: Ch. 6) expound upon this, emphasizing the role of 'typological distance' in regulating the outcomes of language contact. While for Thomason & Kaufman it is primarily sociolinguistic factors which drive language contact, if a pair of languages are structurally congruent this can further promote contact-induced change in domains which would otherwise resist wide-reaching interference. This has led some researchers to posit, for example, that 'direct borrowing of structural elements can occur only when the languages involved are typologically very similar' (Winford 2005:387, cf. Field 2002:42; see also §1.1.2).

Work in dialect contact (especially since Trudgill 1986) has likewise highlighted the significance of lexical similarity. Lexis has long been found to be easy to borrow (cf. Thomason & Kaufman's Borrowing Scale §1.1.2.2): 'lexical differences are highly salient [...] (mostly) non-systematic [...] susceptible to being learned one at a time' (Trudgill 1986:25, cf. Chapter 6). Where the lexica of two languages in contact are already highly similar, this may favour the transfer of further lexical material (Berruto 2005:89, cf. Jones 2015:152) and also grammatical material (Muysken 2000).

8.2.4.2. Linguistic similarity in creole-lexifier contact

By definition, the relationship between a creole and its lexifier is characterized by a large number of what Ledegen (2012) terms *predicats flottants*, lexical items which cannot be definitively classed as either lexifier or creole in origin: 'la considérable osmoticité entre français et créoles fait

que presque tout lexème français peut être "créolisé" et que, dans l'autre sens, la quasi-totalité des termes créoles peut apparaître en français' (Chaudenson 1993:391, cf. §6.6.2).[71] At the same time, the creole grammar exhibits fundamental typological differences from its lexifier: '[u]nlike the contact between two dialects that are in essence two variants of the same linguistic system, the contact between a creole and its lexical source language represents the collision of two very different linguistic systems' (Holm 1988a:59).

LC and LF are lexically near-identical (Klingler et al. 1997:155ff., Neumann 1985a:53), moreso than other French-lexifier creoles (cf. §6.1). In LC-LF contact, this near-total similarity between the two varieties in terms of open-class lexical material means that the next available target of borrowing is at the phonological and morphosyntactic levels. Phonological change in LC, especially in TLC, has advanced to such an extent that most content words are now phonologically identical between LF and LC. The process of front vowel rounding has advanced to such an extent that these vowels no longer act as a potential shibboleth for distinguishing LF lexemes from their LC counterparts.

However, §6.5.2 shows that this phonological levelling has not resulted in absolute lexical identity. A distinction can still be made between LC and LF function words. Function words such as determiners and pronouns comprise a closed lexical class and encode grammatical information. The borrowing of these items can thus can be characterized as a form of grammatical borrowing (cf. Gómez Rendon 2008:64-66, Muysken 1981:130, Muysken & van Hout 1994). Most of the variables reviewed in Chapter 4 can be described as function words: closed-class items such as definite and indefinite determiners (§4.2.2), possessive determiners (§4.2.1) and verbal auxiliaries (§4.3.2).

8.2.4.3. Linguistic similarity in creole-nonlexifier contact

In the case of contact between LC and English, there is far less lexical similarity and a varying degree of structural similarity. LC and English share less phonological and lexical similarities, resulting in evident influence from English in these areas. This is evidenced in the large number of English LOLIs which serve not only to fill lexical gaps but also to replace existing LC lexemes. At the same time, Chapter 6 showed remarkable phonological convergence between LC and local English varieties which can sometimes hinder attempts to analyze a given English LOLI as a borrowing or a

[71] 'The considerable osmotic relationship between French and [French-lexifier] creoles means that any French lexeme can be creolized and almost all creole words can appear in French.'

code-switch when it occurs in LC discourse. Such English influence on LC phonology is also evident in the introduction of the [ɚ] into the phonologies of some speakers (§5.3).

Where morphosyntactic borrowing from English is evident in TLC and MLC, it is confined largely to the field where LC and English share the most structural congruence, namely the verbal domain. This importance of structural congruence is especially evident in the case of LC-AAE contact. Since both varieties exhibit a parallel structure of pre-verbal TAM markers, this has encouraged both the borrowing of grammatical material directly from AAE (i.e. *bin*) and borrowing followed by grammaticalization (e.g. *stil*).

The importance of extralinguistic factors is visible in the analysis of NLC, where the intensity of contact with English is extremely high. In NLC—unlike TLC and MLC—the determiner system is influenced by English morphosyntax. Some new speakers mark definite and plural nouns with determiners *-la* and *-ye*.

8.2.4.4. Comparison with dialect contact

The hierarchical processes of contact-induced change described here bear strong resemblance to those seen in other language contact situations. A particularly informative comparison can be drawn with the work of Jones (2015) on contact between Mainland Norman and French (in Normandy) and Insular Norman and English (in the Channel Islands). Jones, like the present study, compares the effects of contact between an endangered variety (Norman) with a related superstrate (French) and an unrelated superstrate (English).

Jones finds that high degree of typological and lexical similarity between Norman and French has led to Norman borrowing much linguistic material from French and adverging to that language (2015:196). This is somewhat similar to the LF-LC case, though in creole-lexifier contact there is less initial typological similarity between the two varieties. The results of the two contact situations, however, appear quite similar. In both cases, contact with French results in changes which come to be fully 'worked through' (Jones 2015:142) the respective Norman and LC substrates.

In the case of Norman-English contact, 'the greater typological distance between these varieties makes the assimilation of system morphemes and other well-integrated forms far less likely' (Jones 2015:196). As with the LC-English contact case, this greater typological distance and lack of shared lexis results in contact-induced change proceeding in a hierarchical fashion. Lexis is

the first target, followed then by phonology and morphosyntax. Changes in these areas are not as established as those which result from contact with French.

Relative to dialect contact, creole-lexifier contact involves an equal or higher degree of lexical similarity, but a lesser degree of structural similarity. Creole-nonlexifier contact, on the other hand, generally involves both lesser degree of lexical similarity and a lesser degree of structural similarity. In this regard, creole-nonlexifier contact does not seem to differ from language contact between unrelated non-creole varieties. Creole-lexifier contact is similar to the dialect contact described by Jones, but distinct insofar as it involves less structural congruence initially (this structural congruence is instead induced through contact).

These findings therefore support those of Jones (2015) on the role of linguistically similar and dissimilar superstrates in dialect contact. Table 53 shows that creole-lexifier contact can be related to other types of linguistic contact in terms of degree of lexical and typological correspondence, returning to the idea that language contact involves contact between 'two (or more) different lexica and between typologically different linguistic systems, though the differences vary from minor to very significant ones' (Aboh 2015:5, cf. §1.1.1.1, §1.2.2.2). Table 53 represents a rough model to which future research should add more nuance, reflecting the fact that pairs of languages (including creoles), dialects or idiolects in contact can be situated on clines of variable lexical and typological similarity.

	Lexical similarity	Typological similarity
Language contact e.g. LC-English e.g. Norman-English (Jones 2015)	Less	Less
Dialect contact e.g. Norman-French (Jones 2015)	More	More
Creole-lexifier contact e.g. LC-French	More	Less

Table 53. Rough model of the role of linguistic similarity in language contact, dialect contact and creole-lexifier contact.

8.2.5. Language-external factors: Summary

The linguistic changes that result from creole-lexifier and creole-nonlexifier contact cannot be attributed to the fact that one of the languages in contact is a creole, nor to any creole-specific pathway of change. Rather, in line with mainstream theory in contact linguistics since Thomason & Kaufman (1988), the extent of contact-induced change is determined by sociolinguistic context as well as the degree of similarity between the two languages in contact and it is clear that language-

external factors alone do not capture the full extent of changes involved in this thesis. The focus of discussion will now shift to those language-internal (§8.3) and sociolinguistic (§8.4) factors neglected by the decreolization approach.

8.3. Language-internal factors

Whether the more specific Bickertonian definition is adopted (§8.2.1) or it is defined in more general terms as the simple advergence of the creole to its lexifier, decreolization seems to have no place for language-internal factors, a fact which sets decreolization against the grain of contemporary language change theory. In this section I will show that creoles are not exempt from internally-motivated language changes, nor do their grammars react differently to such changes as a creole-specific account might suggest.

8.3.1. Multiple causation

Perhaps most significant is decreolization's inability to capture a fundamental tenet of language change, namely that it often involves multiple causation. The involvement of internal factors in ostensibly externally-motivated change cannot be excluded in either creole-lexifier contact or creole-nonlexifier contact.

An important instance of contact-induced change in the nominal domain, the emergence of gender and number agreement on possessive determiners is regulated by language-internal factors. Synchronic and diachronic evidence points to number agreement emerging first, followed by gender agreement, a trend which is in line with typological observations which show that gender agreement systems typically only emerge once a system of number agreement is well-established. Further, gender and number agreement on possessive determiners has been analogically extended beyond French-origin forms, creating innovative, divergent variants (cf. §8.3). Another far-reaching change initially provoked by contact with French, the restructuring of the definite determiner system has involved the reanalysis of agglutinated nouns such as *lamezon,* which has determiner + noun sequences (i.e. *la mezon*).

Language-internal factors have also led to interaction between creole-lexifier and creole-nonlexifier contact. The phonological changes described in Chapter 5 are motivated through contact with French, in the case of vowel rounding, and English, in the case of rhotacization. Through internal restructuring, these two separate contact-induced processes have begun to interact with

the result that front rounded vowels [ø œ] are beginning to surface as [ə̹] for some speakers. There is nothing crosslinguistically unusual or creole-specific about this change pathway. Indeed, an analogous process is attested in the sociolinguistically similar non-creole context of Frenchville French (Bullock & Gerfen 2004).

8.3.2. Divergent change

Language-internal factors are often responsible for grammatical changes which contravene Bickerton's 'new functions later' maxim (cf. §8.2.1). They produce changes which cause the creole to diverge from its lexifier both morphosyntactically and phonologically. Hypercorrect forms produced through analogical extension surface in the cases of number agreement, gender agreement, and front vowel rounding and result in LC becoming less linguistically similar to its lexifier by any measure. Even in the apparently straightforward case of lexical borrowing of the pronoun *èl* (< Fr. *elle*; cf. §2.1), the syntactic distribution of the borrowed form is determined by the creole grammar, resulting in structures which do not resemble those of French. The resulting divergent changes would present no problem to mainstream theories of contact-induced change, since it has long been accepted that language contact may lead to linguistic advergence, convergence and divergence (cf. Chapter 1). It does, however, present an insurmountable conceptual challenge where decreolization is concerned because that process is supposed to result in the unidirectional advergence of the creole to the lexifier.

8.3.3. Summary

When language-internal factors and their consequences are considered, it is clear that the apparent specificity of decreolization becomes even more elusive. Instead, just like any other language, changes that occur in LC, even when they are contact-induced, are regulated and furthered by language-internal factors. Thus, the creole grammar does not simply 'copy over' lexifier forms wholesale to slowly become identical to the lexifier, as Bickerton's decreolization pathway suggests (cf. §2.1); rather, the creole incorporates lexifier-origin into its grammar *on its own terms*, adhering to system-internal constraints just as any other grammar would. This results in change through multiple causation which, in some cases, leads to the creole diverging from its lexifier.

8.4. Sociolinguistic factors

The primary claim of Thomason & Kaufman (1988), highly influential in contact linguistics, is that sociolinguistic context is central to determining the course of language contact and change. Through quantitative analysis, synchronic variation and diachronic change in LC are attributable to the two sociohistorical factors of region and racial segregation.

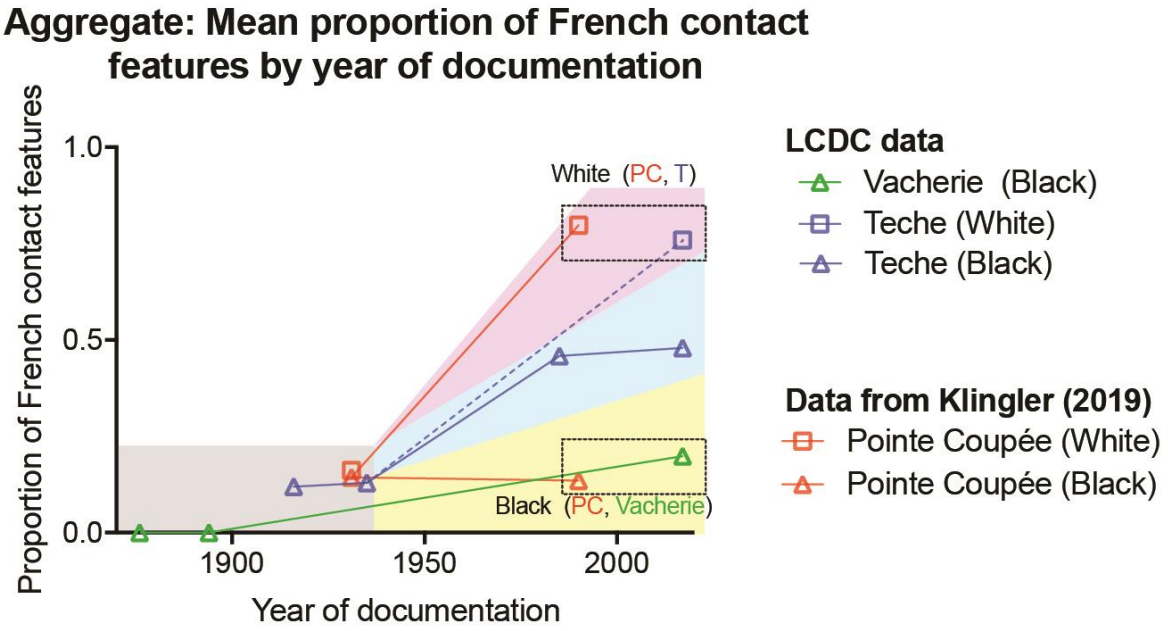

Figure 57. Mean proportion of French contact features by year of documentation. Data from LCDC and Klingler (2019).

Figure 57 depicts both of these factors against the diachronic presence of French contact features, illustrating their importance in shaping the trajectory of change in LC. Also included in Figure 57 are data from the recent diachronic study of Pointe Coupée MLC conducted by Klingler (2019). Together, these data illustrate the results of LC-French contact across all varieties of LC which are still spoken.

Based on the historical literature and the oral histories of interviewees in this study, §2.3.4 suggested that the years following 1920s precipitated linguistic 'tip' (Dorian 1981:51), i.e. the 'linguistic point of no return' (Jones 1998b:5) which was the onset of LC's obsolescence. The far-reaching linguistic consequences of this are clearly reflected in the broad diachronic picture, which shows a rapid uptake of French contact features after this period. Amongst black speakers of MLC, there has been relatively little deviation from OLC. White speakers of TLC and MLC both display high proportions of French contact features. Black speakers of TLC occupy a position between these

two groups. Here, I review the role of regional variation and racial segregation as sociolinguistic factors in the obsolescence of LC and address the mechanisms which may be involved in actuating specific linguistic changes.

8.4.1. Region

The results of this study confirm observations by Neumann (1985a) on the pervasive influence French has had on TLC and support the model of LC genesis by which OLC diverged into two contemporary varieties.

As described in Chapter 2, historical records indicate that creolophones have always been in relatively close association with francophones in the Teche region. Within that region, Breaux Bridge and St Martinville, the most populous settlements examined here, seem to pattern similarly in having a relatively lower proportion of French contact features. This may be due to the larger size of these settlements, which may have meant overall less interaction between francophone and creolophone populations. Racial segregation (see §4.2) is almost certainly a factor here too, given that these linguistic divides were often also racial in these settlements (see §2.3.4 for maps of residential segregation and language identification in Breaux Bridge, cf. §3.2.2.1). Cecilia and Henderson also pattern together, showing the most French-origin features overall. This is certainly due to the presence of a number of white creolophones in these settlements (see §4.2), and may in particular be attributable to large numbers of *swampeurs* who abandoned settlements in the Atchafalaya Basin and moved to these towns, although further research on this hypothesis is required (see §2.2.2.2.1).

The findings from MLC show that variety as being markedly less influenced by French than TLC. For all morphosyntactic and phonological variables, MLC had a lower proportion of French contact features than TLC. While there has always been a strong French-speaking presence in Vacherie, this has been concentrated to Front Vacherie, the area along the Mississippi River (cf. Marshall 1989, see §3.2.2.2). In Back Vacherie, as in Pointe Coupee, LC was the lingua franca used by both black and white children growing up together, as it was in the 19th century (§2.3.2.1).

8.4.2. Racial segregation

Given the importance of race in shaping the social history of Louisiana communities, it was hypothesized in Chapter 2 that language variation should pattern along these lines. Such variation

is noted by both Neumann (1985a) and Klingler (2003a) and this study has provided the first quantitative confirmation of these observations. However, unlike Neumann (1985a) and Klingler (2003a), this thesis has included speech from white creolophones in its main dataset in order to provide a diachronic account of French contact-features in the speech of that group. As described in Chapter 1, school segregation has been used to categorize speakers as Black or White. This reflects the binarization of Creole communities into black and white castes under Jim Crow and the markedly different lived experiences of members of these separated communities, which has found to reflect marked variation in the presence of French contact features.

In Louisiana, the period after Emancipation has been characterized by a complex social restructuring in line with Jim Crow segregation, which has produced quite different trajectories of language change either side of the racial divide (see Chapter 2). LC has served a solidarity function in black communities in Louisiana, with relatively little pressure to switch to LF. Primary education in black communities in the Teche region was often a grassroots effort involving local teachers who were themselves speakers of LC and who did not enforce stringent penalties for using the language in the classroom or playground. White creolophone children were both teased by their classmates and punished by their teachers for speaking LC, reinforcing a general pressure to either accommodate to LF or switch to English.

The account given in this study contrasts with many of those offered in the literature on decreolization, which is assumed to be a linear process of advergence to a higher-status lexifier. Rickford (1987:290n17), for instance, has noted the tendency for studies on decreolization to focus on Emancipation as the trigger for shift towards the lexifier (cf. Dorian's notion of linguistic tip, Chapter 1). As Rickford cautions, 'preceding and successive events may have been equally important, or even more important' (1987:290n17). DeGraff (2005:556) has pointed out that there is a tendency in the creolistics literature to neglect the possible solidarity function of creoles, which can lead to language maintenance rather than language shift.

The brief discussion of racial segregation here cannot attempt to capture the diverse lived experiences of those interviewed for this study. Short of conversing with these individuals themselves, the reader is referred particularly to Maguire (1987) for an insightful study of life in a rural creole-speaking black community. Suffice it to say here that the experience of each individual interviewed during fieldwork is, literally, not black and white (as the quantitative analysis might

suggest). The individual linguistic history of each speaker can produce language variation which often falls outside the aggregate trend. For instance, MN's use of *èl* as the third person singular feminine subject pronoun is atypical of a black creolophone from Vacherie and is instead likely to be a result of the time he spent in France (see §4.2.1.2). Clearly, several years of ethnographic study would be required to accurately capture the diversity of the individual sociolinguistic histories of Louisiana's LC-speaking population.

8.4.3. Accommodation

The linguistic consequences of racial segregation can be understood through the lens of accommodation theory (Giles & Coupland 1991), 'one of the major frameworks to which researchers in language change should turn' (Niedzelski & Giles 1996:338). The relationship of accommodation to language change has long been recognized in the literature on language and dialect contact, with Trudgill (1986:39) noting that 'accommodation may in time become permanent, particularly if attitudinal factors are favourable.' As Auer & Hinskens (1996, 2005) have argued, however, the driving force of this change-by-accommodation 'is not imitation of the language of one's interlocutor but, rather, an attempt to assimilate one's language to the *possibly stereotyped characteristics of a group one wants to be part of, or resemble*' (Auer & Hinskens 2005:356, emphasis mine). Thus, change may arise as a result of speakers' attempts to orientate themselves towards (or away from) a particular group (cf. 'acts of identity', Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985; cf. also *imaginaire linguistique*, Houdbine-Gravaud 2005).

This phenomenon can clearly be demonstrated in the Louisiana context. All speakers of LC have been under pressure to accommodate to LF in some sense, though, as emphasized in Figure 57, this pressure has been uneven depending on racial segregation (§8.4.2) and region (§8.4.1). The lexica of LC and LF are nearly identical (§8.2.4.2, cf. Chapter 6). Lexical differences are generally 'highly salient' and 'susceptible' to change-by-accommodation (Trudgill 1986:25) but this cannot be so in the case of creole-lexifier contact. Instead, it is the phonological differences which become the next targets for accommodation which explains why front vowel rounding appears in diachronic analysis to have emerged relatively early (§5.2.2). Metalinguistic commentary Bienvenu (1933:iv-v, see §5.2.2) reinforces this conclusion, suggesting that, in the Teche region, white creolophones first accommodated phonologically to white francophones, and then that black creolophones accommodated to white creolophones. Synchronic evidence of this is evident in hypercorrect

phonological forms (e.g. LC [dɣry] for LF [dɣri] 'rice', first remarked upon by Neumann 1985a and analyzed further in Chapter 4) as speakers 'overshoot' (Auer & Hinskens 2005:356) the LF target.

By the time of Neumann (1985a), TLC's phonological 'transition period' in the early 1900s appears to have progressed to the domain of morphosyntax (Figure 57). This can be explained by the point of division in LC and LF lying in the functional domain (cf. §8.2.4). Once LF and LC content words had reached near-identity through phonological levelling, function words—determiners, pronouns, auxiliary verbs etc.—were left as the only point of contrast between LF and LC lexica and were thus susceptible to the assignment of social meaning. For white creolophones, in particular, a pressure to disassociate from LC may have resulted in the insertion of function words which, over subsequent generations, came to be integrated into LC morphosyntax. Differing sociolinguistic pressures have resulted in less linguistic change black communities in the Teche region (§4.2.). In the Mississippi region, less pressure to accommodate to LF overall has resulted in less change of this sort (§4.1.).

8.4.4. The creole continuum and language obsolescence

The change-by-accommodation model raises the question of whether speakers of LC ever had a multilectal competence as part of a continuum of socially-meaningful linguistic forms. The existence of a creole continuum has long been an important question in LC linguistics and is germane to the concerns of this thesis owing to its close association with decreolization.

In his study of Jamaican Creole, Patrick (1999:21) states that 'the continuum as a synchronic model can and should be effectively divorced from diachronic assumptions about its origin through decreolization'. This thesis has concentrated on the specific linguistic changes that underlie the emergence of such a continuum (Rickford's 'quantitative decreolization', see §1.2.2). If the linguistic mechanisms which result in the emergence of a continuum are not creole-specific—as I have argued in §3—it follows that the emergence of a continuum is not specific to creole-lexifier contact contexts. After all, as Mufwene (1988:111) has previously remarked, continua exist in a variety of linguistic situations and many studies of language variation and change incorporate a continuum model. Theories of variation in creole continua 'must be valid, not merely for the creole continuum, but for every language situation that is not wholly and indisputably homogeneous – which in effect means every language situation' (Bickerton 1973:668). Spurred on in part by the efforts of many creolists, contact linguists have often invoked continua in analyses of variation between closely related

varieties, such as English dialects in England (Trudgill 1999) or Picard-French contact (Pooley 2002). Pooley, in particular, makes reference to 'depicardization', by which Picard has progressively taken on more features of French with a number of linguistic forms intermediate between the two languages.

Other examples of linguistic continua abound in the literature, and the purpose of this thesis is certainly not to argue against this model. Rather, I suggest that, while the continuum model has been applied quite successfully outside of creolistics, studies of creole languages have tended to apply the model, and its inherent assumptions about decreolization (see §1.2.2), as a one-size-fits-all solution to variation in creole-lexifier contact. Instead, the continuum, if it is to be applied at all, should be applied in a more context-sensitive fashion. The model should be made to fit the data and not the reverse. For example, Patrick (1999a, 1999b) has found that the continuum between Jamaican Creole and English is characterized by 'continuous variation within a wide mesolect, but a sharp boundary on the lower end, between it and the basilect' (Patrick 1999b:119). Other important studies by Rickford (1986, 1987), Winford (1997) and, most recently, Irvine-Sobers (2018) also seek to underscore that continuum should be applied with careful attention to the speech community's own linguistic norms.

Hinrichs & Farquarson (2011) collect a number of studies which speak to the complex relationship between the continuum model and the sociolinguistic dynamics of creole communities and individual linguistic behaviours. These studies demonstrate that there can be no 'catch all' continuum for all creole situations. For instance, Migge & Léglise (2011) show that contact in creole communities can produce outcomes which do not fit into the continuum model at all. Instead of the unidirectional change associated with the classic post-creole continuum, they find that Eastern Maroon Creole is changing in two directions. On one hand, differences between ethnic varieties are levelling, giving rise to a 'pan-Maroon variety' and, on the other hand, within that emergent variety, new styles and structures are proliferating. Their work has shown that variation in Eastern Maroon Creole depends not on stratified social groups (where different varieties are used), but instead on specific speech events and style-shifts (Migge & Léglise 2011, 2013; cf. Abrahams 1983). Their findings also speak to the case of creole-nonlexifier contact, where they find the creole continuum to be 'not applicable' (Migge & Léglise 2011:227).

Returning to Louisiana, it is difficult to surmise whether such a continuum might exist today in what is now almost a completely anglophone territory. There is still room for further research on this important question, especially if linguistic-ethnographic techniques are applied in tandem with traditional language documentation methods to 'fill in the gaps' in the linguistic data. Using such an approach, Wendte (2018a) has collected data which suggest the remnants of a continuum amongst LC-speaking diaspora in Texas. He finds speakers do not interpret the majority of variation along this continuum as socially meaningful because of a reduction in social stratification and language obsolescence. I suggest on this basis that the continuum in Louisiana has been subject to 'stylistic shrinkage', the gradual attenuation of stylistic variation common in language obsolescence (Campbell and Muntzel 1989, see Chapter 1). It seems possible that a continuum once existed in some communities along the Bayou Teche, for example, given the close relationship between LF and LC in that region. Some of the remaining speakers of TLC may once have had a full multilectal competence, which has now been reduced – the mechanisms for this should be subject to more detailed investigation (§5.2). This could potentially explain why, for example, front rounded vowels [y ø œ] vary both between different speakers and within the production of the same speaker.

At the same time, this variation is not necessarily linked to shrinkage of the creole continuum. Extensive inter- and intra-speaker variation is evident in many cases of language obsolescence (see §1.1.1.3). This sociolinguistic setting has also been shown to produce linguistic changes which are quantitatively—not qualitatively—different to those observed in less intensive language contact (§1.1.3.2). Indeed, extensive changes have taken place in LC morphosyntax (in both nominal and verbal domains), phonology and lexis. The extent to which each linguistic domain is impacted qualitatively is regulated by LC's linguistic relationships with the two dominant superstrates LF and English and not by its status as a creole (cf. §8.2.4).

8.4.5. Language revitalization

One response to the endangerment of LC has been the growth of a small, though active, language revitalization community on social media. The context of language revitalization brings with it new language-ideological factors which may impact language change, as demonstrated in Chapter 7 by the presence of the morphosyntactic feature *-la-ye*, a combination of the postposed definite determiner *-la* and the postposed plural determiner *-ye* which is not attested in contemporary LC but is found in OLC. The use of this OLC feature is best explained as an attempt to use an LC

linguistic form which is maximally distant from LF. Reifying LC—or, as it is increasingly labelled, Kouri-Vini—as a language distinct from LF is an important task for the new speaker community for reasons detailed in Chapter 7. It is possible that, as time goes on, the concerns of the language revitalization community will begin to play a larger role as a sociolinguistic factor shaping language change in LC.

8.5. Rethinking decreolization

In common with other critiques of decreolization (especially Aceto 1999, Russell 2015, Siegel 2010), this thesis concludes that language contact and change in creoles should be approached without recourse to a creole-specific framework. Creoles, like any language, are subject to universal principles of language change which involve the interplay of language-internal, language-external and sociolinguistic factors. It has been shown that that the relationship between a creole and its lexifier is noteworthy due to a high degree of shared lexis. This relationship, however, is not exceptional, and can be related to other processes of language and dialect contact. Creole-lexifier contact facilitates changes which are not merely convergent and which often result in the divergence of the creole from its lexifier, especially where language-internal factors are involved. By all accounts, these changes do not proceed in a manner specific to creoles, *contra* Bickerton (1975, 1980a, 1980b).

8.5.1. Decreolization and the Creole Debate

The discussion of the creolistics literature in Chapter 1 made reference to two seemingly irreconcilable theoretical camps which dominate the field today (using terms taken from McWhorter 2018). The Creole Exceptionalists (McWhorter, Bakker, Parkvall) and the Uniformitarians (Aboh, DeGraff, Mufwene) have vigorously disputed the genesis of creole languages but overall they have had less to say on the topic of post-creolization language change. Indeed, in McWhorter's most recent overview of *The Creole Debate* (2018), the term 'decreolization' is not mentioned once, nor does Aboh (2015) use this term in that most recent volume. The omission of this term in both publications is not an oversight. Both volumes focus on creolization, which has been the central concern of theoretical disputes, to the exclusion of focused examination of decreolization. Rethinking decreolization has the potential to bring these two camps together in agreement that creoles are affected by contact and change in the same ways as any other language.

In his critique of decreolization, Patrick (1999:17) writes: 'For such a term [decreolization] to be meaningful one must be able to locate the essence of creoleness and show that it is disappearing from a variety. This requires nothing less than finding the Holy Grail of creole studies, and it seems unwise to predicate use of any term on its success.' The Creole Exceptionalist understanding of creoles has concentrated much effort on the quest for such a 'Holy Grail', and McWhorter's Creole Prototype constitutes the best-known and most recent model (most recently summarized in McWhorter 2018). The Creole Prototype is a minimal set of linguistic features supposed to define a subset of languages as creole (and so, of course, is hardly uncontroversial, cf. §1.2.1). In a literal reading of the Creole Exceptionalist position, the loss of one of these Prototypical features would render the grammar 'less creole' (i.e. 'decreolized'). Thus, some 'creoles have taken on features from their lexifier languages that pull them away from the Prototype' (McWhorter 2018:29). McWhorter (2018:21ff.) points to a lack of tone, a lack of paradigmatic inflection and non-compositional lexical derivation as Prototypical features of creoles. Contact between LC and French has not resulted in the emergence of tone or paradigmatic inflection, nor has it resulted in the emergence of lexical-derivational strategies[72] In its most literal interpretation, 'decreolization' is therefore not a justifiable term here and, on this basis, I agree with Russell (2015) that:

> 'Rather than simply shedding creole features, a "decreolizing creole" is undergoing a series of innovative grammatical changes and not simply undoing its past: this state of affairs is not the grammatical reversal of creole formation, even if the output of the former appears *prima facie* to revert to an input of the latter.' (Russell 2015:123)

In any case, McWhorter does not advocate for such a one-dimensional view of language change in creoles. He instead has characterized decreolization as an outdated model (2003:24) and has also mentioned the importance of considering language-internal changes in creoles (2005:161, 2018:28). A Creole Exceptionalist response on the findings in this thesis might be summarized as follows: even if creoles are exceptional, the way in which they change is not.

Arriving at the Uniformitarian perspective is more straightforward. Simply, since creoles are supposed to have no special linguistic properties, they are expected to undergo the same processes of change as any other language. Refuting the concept of decreolization has been a longstanding desideratum for the Uniformitarians but, so far, their critiques of the notion have concentrated largely on its political, theoretical and sociolinguistic dimensions (e.g. DeGraff 2005:553, Mufwene

[72] This, of course, raises the interesting question of whether LC has ever been prototypical. See Neumann-Holzschuh (2001).

2005; see Siegel 2010). This thesis brings much-needed empirical data to bear on these discussions and is surely in line with the Uniformitarian position, which advocates against the existence of a creole-specific process of language change.

Decreolization as an explanatory framework for language change in creoles is therefore incompatible with the theoretical orientations of both Creole Exceptionalists and Uniformitarians. Creolists—however they position themselves relative to the Creole Debate—would do well to move past decreolization as a frame-of-reference for studying language change in creoles. After all, the task of creolistics has long been to emphasize the potential of creoles as testing grounds for linguistic theory, including the fundamental question of how languages change over the course of their existence. While the field of creolistics has been characterized by polarized debates on the nature of creoles and, especially, creolization, I am optimistic that rethinking decreolization will offer all those interested in creoles fertile ground for inquiry and perhaps even consensus.

8.5.2. Beyond decreolization: Future work

By moving 'beyond decreolization' (Aceto 1999) as a framework for analyzing language contact and change in creoles, this thesis opens several avenues for further research to which this final word is devoted.

Whether a creole continuum has ever existed in Louisiana is a longstanding topic of interest. Discussion in §4.4 and §4.5 emphasized the importance of ongoing work in this area, noting that data collected by Wendte (2018a) suggest the presence of 'stylistic shrinkage'. This an opportunity for further investigation of psycholinguistic factors in language obsolescence. The psycholinguistics of language obsolescence was introduced in §1.1.1.3, which mentioned the importance of semi-speakers and rusty speakers in language obsolescence studies and related these classifications to atypical L1 acquisition and L1 attrition. At that point, I conceded that the present study could not feasibly investigate these connections any further – it has first been important to clarify whether LC should be expected to change in any creole-specific fashion.

With that claim refuted here, the ground is laid for a deeper investigation into LC speakers' individual histories of L1 acquisition and attrition. Such an investigation will shed further light on the presence of extensive inter- and intra-speaker variation in language obsolescence. Variation in the I-languages of speakers of obsolescent languages may be attributed to L1 attrition, innovations

arising in L1 acquisition, or L1 acquisition based on primary linguistic data itself shaped by these two phenomena.

The process of iterative change through L1 acquisition recalls the 'recursive cascade' of L1 and L2 acquisition posited in the Null Theory of Creole Formation (Aboh & DeGraff 2016). In that theory, over subsequent generations, speakers' variable I-languages coalesce into a stable variety identified as a creole (cf. Aboh 2015, DeGraff 2009). In the approach to language obsolescence suggested here, this stable variety undergoes the opposite process, whereby speakers' I-languages are part of a 'recursive cascade' of L1 attrition and L1 acquisition (cf. similar remarks in Polinsky 2018, Simpson 2015). It seems possible, therefore, to take the same theoretical perspective on both the emergence and obsolescence of a creole.

Since the lack of a written record obscures the origins of most languages, it has long been recognized that creoles represent an unusual opportunity to study how a new language comes into being. Though some attention has been given to the case of endangered creoles (see Garrett 2006, O'Shannessy 2010 and most recently Lee 2018), until this thesis no data-driven, diachronic study has shown that creoles are subject to the same universal processes of language change as non-creole languages. It is clear that endangered creoles offer an exciting and ambitious opportunity: an empirical case study of the universal processes involved in a language's entire linguistic lifespan.

Amongst endangered creoles, LC is exceptionally well-documented and thus well-suited for such a study. The LCDC, purpose-built for this thesis, to my knowledge represents the only substantial diachronic corpus of an endangered creole. Through further development and analysis of this tool, it will be possible to trace linguistic features over the course of LC's 300-year lifespan. In that study, it will be important to balance psycholinguistic considerations of the sort outlined above against the sociolinguistic factors addressed in this thesis. This synthesis would shed light on the longstanding question of whether linguistic processes in language obsolescence proceed like 'creolization in reverse' (Trudgill 1977, see §1.1.3.1), while untangling the relationship between L1 acquisition, L2 acquisition, L1 attrition, language genesis and language change. More importantly still, the LCDC should be developed to ensure that the data it contains are accessible to all those interested in LC, from linguists to community members. With the development of this resource and concerted collaborations between scholars and language activists, I am optimistic that my proposed case study of LC's lifecycle may even incorporate a final plot twist: revitalization.

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Appendices

Table 54. Systems for spelling Louisiana Creole.

IPA	Klingler (1994)	Landry et al. (2016)	Neumann (1985)
CONSONANTS			
b	b	b	b
p	p	p	p
d	d	d	d
t	t	t	t
g	g	g	g
k	k	k	k
dʒ	dj	dj	dẑ
tʃ	tch	ch	tŝ
v	v	v	v
f	f	f	f
z	z	z	z
s	s	s, ç	s
ʒ	j	j	ẑ
ʃ	ch	sh	ŝ
h	h	h	h
m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n
ŋ	ng	ng	ng
ɲ	gn	ñ	gn
l	l	l	l
r	r	r	r
j	y	y	j
w	w	w	w
ORAL VOWELS			
i	i	i	i
ɪ	i	ì	i
e	e	é	e
ɛ	è	è	e
æ	æ	æ	e
a	a	a	a
ɔ	ò	ò	o
o	o	o	o
u	ou	ou	u

y	u	u	y
ø	eu	e	ø
œ	œ	œ	œ
NASAL VOWELS			
ɑ̃	an	an, em, am, em	õ
ɛ̃	en	in, im	ẽ
ɔ̃	on	on, om	õ
œ̃	œn	œn	?
VOWEL-NASAL COMBINATIONS			
an	àn	ann	an
ɔn	òn	ònn	on
ɛn	èn	ènn	en
œn	œ̀n	œnn	œn
on	ón	onn	on
in	in	inn	in
ɪn	in	ìnn	in

Table 55. Number agreement on possessive determiners (raw data).

POSS_PL	POSS_PL0	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
6	0	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
6	0	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
2	2	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
7	0	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF	TLC
4	1	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	4	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
4	8	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
3	0	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
5	0	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF	TLC
1	0	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-IF	TLC
3	0	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
5	0	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
4	1	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
5	0	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
6	0	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
6	0	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	7	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
2	4	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	5	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-IF	Vacherie MLC
14	0	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
11	0	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
4	0	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
1	0	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
9	0	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
1	6	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
7	1	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	9	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
0	19	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
0	39	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	27	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	6	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	8	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	10	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	2	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 56. Number agreement on possessive determiners (mixed-effects logistic regression)

	Possessive determiners **no agreement for number vs. agreement**		
Model formula	VARIABLE[POSSNUM] ~ HOMETOWN + (1|ID)		
Model basics			
Total N	140		
Intercept	-6.908		
Deviance	63.88		
R^2 Total	0.996		
	N	**Proportion**	**Factor weight**
Significant fixed effects:			
HOMETOWN (p < 0.001):			
Vacherie	16	1	> 0.999 !
Breaux Bridge	31	0.29	0.976
St. Martinville	19	0.105	0.971
Parks	28	0.143	0.945
Cecilia	24	0.0417	0.846
Henderson	22	0	<.001 !
Non-significant fixed effects:			
GENDER			
SCHOOL			
EDUCATION			
VARIETY			
SCHOOLTOWN			
BIRTHYEAR			
LANGUAGES			
Random effects:			
ID	*Intercept* = 2.87		*Levels* = 27

Table 57. Borrowed third person singular feminine pronoun èl (< *Fr.* elle)

ELLE	LI	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
0	14	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
3	5	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	3	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	20	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF	TLC
0	15	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	17	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
0	20	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
0	6	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
0	18	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF	TLC
3	18	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-IF	TLC
0	2	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
7	0	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	1	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
1	10	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	4	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	11	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	5	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	21	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
9	4	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
9	0	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-IF	Vacherie MLC
0	9	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
11	1	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	7	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	20	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	5	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	37	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
4	26	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	0	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
3	8	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	1	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
0	0	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
0	0	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 58. Gender agreement on singular indefinite determiners (raw data).

INDEF_F	INDEF_0	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
0	2	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
1	11	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	1	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
15	18	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF	TLC
0	6	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	9	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
2	18	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
10	11	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
12	13	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF	TLC
4	7	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-IF	TLC
3	6	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
1	5	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
9	13	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
5	6	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
6	7	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	7	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
9	12	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	8	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
3	8	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	9	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-IF	Vacherie MLC
6	8	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
9	11	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
10	11	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
8	10	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
10	12	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
19	22	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
10	13	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
3	5	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
8	9	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
3	13	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
3	3	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	67	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
0	96	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
0	95	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	181	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	58	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	67	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	8	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	46	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	15	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 59. Gender agreement on indefinite determiners (mixed-effects logistic regression).

	Indefinite determiners agreement for gender vs. no agreement		
Model formula	VARIABLE[INDEFGEN] ~ HOMETOWN + SCHOOL + (1|ID)		
Model basics			
Total N	264		
Intercept	-7.848		
Deviance	248.895		
R^2 Total	0.918		
	N	**Proportion**	**Factor weight**
Significant fixed effects:			
SCHOOL ($p < 0.0001$)			
White	115	.852	.761
Black	149	.362	.239
VARIETY ($p < 0.0001$)			
Teche	238	0.639	>.999 !
Mississippi	26	0	<.001 !
Non-significant fixed effects:			
GENDER			
EDUCATION			
HOMETOWN			
SCHOOLTOWN			
BIRTHYEAR			
LANGUAGES			
Random effects:			
ID	*Intercept = 0.933*		*Levels* = 27

Table 60. Gender agreement on possessive determiners (raw data)

POSS_F	POSS_F0	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
1	9	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
1	17	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	6	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
9	3	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF	TLC
0	6	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	10	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
1	16	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
10	0	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
23	1	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF	TLC
11	2	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-IF	TLC
4	1	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
6	2	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	4	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
9	0	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
3	3	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	15	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
4	3	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	6	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
8	10	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	10	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-IF	Vacherie MLC
0	16	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
18	1	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
2	6	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
23	5	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
1	4	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
16	3	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
21	8	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
5	1	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
12	1	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
3	5	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
3	0	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	15	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
0	29	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
0	100	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	103	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	23	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	33	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	3	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	9	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	2	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 61. Gender agreement on possessive determiners (mixed-effects logistic regressions).

	Possessive determiners no agreement for gender vs. agreement		
Model formula	VARIABLE[POSSGEN] ~ SCHOOL + VARIETY + (1|ID)		
Model basics			
Total N	338		
Intercept	8.727		
Deviance	278.829		
R^2 Total	0.911		
	N	**Proportion**	**Factor weight**
Significant fixed effects:			
SCHOOL ($p < .001$):			
Black	216	.657	.805
White	122	.205	.195
VARIETY ($p = .0127$)			
Mississippi	26	1	>.999 !
Teche	312	.452	>.001 !
Non-significant fixed effects:			
GENDER			
EDUCATION			
HOMETOWN			
SCHOOLTOWN			
BIRTHYEAR			
LANGUAGES			
Random effects:			
ID	*Intercept* = 2.224		*Levels* = 27

Table 62. Agglutinated nouns (l-stem) (raw data)

AGG-L	Tokens	Normalized frequency	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
9	2575	3.495145631	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	2761	0	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-IF	TLC
2	3588	0.557413601	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
1	2260	0.442477876	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
3	2642	1.135503407	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	2636	0	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
6	2779	2.159050018	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
0	2705	0	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	2598	0	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF	TLC
0	2622	0	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
1	2518	0.397140588	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
1	1248	0.801282051	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	3231	0	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
6	2558	2.345582486	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
1	2756	0.362844703	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
1	2763	0.361925443	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	2862	0	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
5	2573	1.943256899	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	MLC
3	2512	1.194267516	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
18	2266	7.943512798	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-RF	MLC
0	2741	0	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
15	2805	5.347593583	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	MLC
1	2107	0.474608448	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
2	1303	1.534919417	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
1	2705	0.369685767	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
2	592	3.378378378	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
10	2632	3.799392097	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
2	772	2.590673575	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
8	1614	4.956629492	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
2	2302	0.868809731	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
2	1327	1.507159005	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
25	2961	8.443093549	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
70	1754	39.90877993	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
64	1949	32.83735249	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
78	2694	28.9532294	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
10	200	50	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
266	12284	21.6541843	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
228	7409	30.77338372	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
37	1260	29.36507937	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
63	2803	22.47591866	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 63. Pre-posed plural vs. post-posed plural determiners (raw data)

le_N	N-ye	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
46	9	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
53	2	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
5	0	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
35	0	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF	TLC
35	0	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	13	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
35	8	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
48	0	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
34	0	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF	TLC
24	0	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-IF	TLC
44	0	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
28	0	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
65	0	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
33	0	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
29	0	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
29	0	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
43	0	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	15	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
77	0	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
4	7	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-IF	Vacherie MLC
69	0	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
65	0	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
15	10	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
12	0	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
45	1	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
27	0	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
37	0	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	5	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
24	0	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
37	0	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
54	0	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
1	18	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
0	9	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
0	23	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	31	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	14	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
1	9	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	11	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	5	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 64. Pre-posed plural vs. post-posed plural determiners (mixed-effects logistic regression).

	Preposed plural (*-ye*) vs. Postposed plural (*le*)		
Model formula	VARIABLE[NNUM] ~ HOMETOWN + (1|ID)		
Model basics			
Total N	1002		
Intercept	-6.266		
Deviance	204.748		
R^2 Total	0.91		
	N	**Proportion**	**Factor weight**
Significant fixed effects:			
HOMETOWN ($p < 0.001$):			
Vacherie	39	0.897	> 0.999 !
St. Martinville	123	0.0813	0.159
Breaux Bridge	210	0.0381	0.0612
Henderson	142	0.00704	0.945
Parks	225	0.00889	0.0471
Cecilia	263	0.0342	0.0442
Non-significant fixed effects:			
GENDER			
SCHOOL			
EDUCATION			
VARIETY			
HOMETOWN			
SCHOOLTOWN			
BIRTHYEAR			
LANGUAGES			
Random effects:			
ID	*Intercept = 5.668*		*Levels* = 27

Table 65. Indefinite plural determiners (raw data)

le_N	de_N	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
46	4	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
53	3	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
5	3	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
35	25	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
35	37	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	7	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
35	11	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
48	15	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
34	23	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
24	16	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-RF	TLC
44	7	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
28	3	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
65	9	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
33	18	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
29	35	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
29	8	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
43	31	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	1	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
77	3	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
4	5	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-RF	Vacherie MLC
69	5	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
65	3	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
15	8	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
12	7	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
45	32	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
27	16	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
37	8	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	1	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
24	1	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
37	33	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
54	1	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	1	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
1	11	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
0	1	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	2	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	2	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
1	1	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	9	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	1	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 66. Indefinite plural determiners (*mixed-effects logistic regression*)

	Indefinite determiners *le* **vs.** *de*		
Model formula	VARIABLE[INDEFPL] ~ HOMETOWN + (1|ID)		
Model basics			
Total N	416		
Intercept	-3.47		
Deviance	510.611		
R^2 *Total*	0.925		
	N	**Proportion**	**Factor weight**
Significant fixed effects:			
HOMETOWN ($p < .001$):			
Parks	235	.949	.89
Breaux Bridge	272	.743	.581
St. Martinville	145	.779	.562
Cecilia	374	.679	.506
Henderson	237	.595	.387
Vacherie	17	.235	.0968
Non-significant fixed effects:			
GENDER			
SCHOOL			
EDUCATION			
HOMETOWN			
VARIETY			
SCHOOLTOWN			
BIRTHYEAR			
LANGUAGES			
Random effects:			
ID	*Intercept* = 0.599		*Levels* = 27

Table 67. Definite singular determiners (raw data)

l_N	N-la	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
13	22	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
14	8	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	1	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
69	1	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF	TLC
4	3	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
3	31	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
16	14	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
57	0	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
70	3	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF	TLC
19	9	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-IF	TLC
21	4	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
16	5	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
51	35	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
48	8	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
17	6	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
15	11	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
48	1	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
3	13	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
30	13	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
8	6	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-IF	Vacherie MLC
27	11	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
26	6	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
42	3	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
76	13	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
38	17	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
76	29	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
45	7	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
5	29	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
16	62	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
14	3	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
11	5	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
1	18	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
2	58	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
2	74	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
3	210	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	83	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
1	73	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	11	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
1	51	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	21	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 68. Pre-posed definite singular determiners (*mixed-effects logistic regression*)

	Definiteness marking Preposed vs. postposed		
Model formula	VARIABLE[DEF] ~ LANGUAGES + SCHOOL + VARIETY (1|ID)		
Model basics			
Total N	1132		
Intercept	0.746		
Deviance	1049.607		
R^2 Total	0.343		
	N	**Proportion**	**Factor weight**
Significant fixed effects:			
LANGUAGES ($p < .01$):			
LC-EN-RF	185	.897	.662
LC-EN-LF	291	.89	.515
LC-EN	656	.325	.325
SCHOOL ($p < .001$)			
White	599	.875	.636
Black	533	.615	.364
VARIETY ($p < .001$)			
Teche	1068	.785	.757
Mississippi	64	.219	.243
Excluded fixed effects:			
EDUCATION, collinear with LANGUAGES.			
Non-significant fixed effects:			
GENDER			
VARIETY			
SCHOOLTOWN			
BIRTHYEAR			
Random effects:			
ID	*Intercept* = 0.629		*Levels* = 27

Table 69. Long and short verbs in the LCDC classed after Klingler (2003)

	English gloss	**Long forms**	**Short forms**
1A			
(a)rive, (a)riv	To arrive	49	13
anbete, anbet	To annoy	0	0
arete, aret	To stop	20	9
benye, beny	To bathe	9	0
blije, blij	To have to	0	0
bliye, bliy	To forget	20	6
chache, chærch	To search	17	0
done, dòn[73]	To give	21	49
freme, ferm	To close	5	0
galope, galop	To run	44	6
garde, gad, ga	To look	36	18
gonye, gony	To win	2	0
jwe/joue, jou	To play	93	27
konye, kony	To knock	5	0
kouche, kouch	To sleep	23	2
koute, kout	To listen	35	24
leme, lem	To love, like	46	96
leve/èlve, lev/elev	To get up	26	7
manje, manj	To eat	86	27
ote, ot	To take out	5	3
panse, pans	To think	5	26
parle, parl	To speak	346	203
pele, pel	To call	54	47
plante, plannt	To plant	7	4
pliche, plich	To peel	0	0
prète, prèt	To borrow	2	9
pyoche, pyòch	To hoe	6	0
taye, tay	To whip, spank	22	0
touche, touch	To touch	3	0

[73] *Done, dòn* and *travaye, travay* 'work' are classed here as two-form verbs despite their classification in Neumann (1985) and Klingler (2003) as a single-form verbs, see §4.3.1.1.3.

tounen, toun	To turn	18	6
Travaye, travay[1]		70	95
trouve, trouv	To find	28	11
vòye, vòy	To send	14	2
1B			
tonbe/tanm, tanm	To fall	16	1
mannde, mann	To ask	24	7
1C			
sanmble, sanmb	To seem	3	5
jonngle, jonng	To think	14	5
montre, mont	To show	58	8
rantre, rant	To enter	10	7
rèste, rès	To stay, live	121	50
2			
dòrmi, dòr	To sleep	9	0
pèrdi, pèrdi	To loose	2	21
rondi, ronn	To arrive at	0	0
særvi, særv	To use	51	5
santi, san	To feel	7	11
sòrti, sòr	To go out, to come out	28	19
swivi, swiv	To follow	0	8
TOTAL		1460	837
Other verbs			
vini, vyen	To come	277	72
kouri, kou	To go	401	0
genye, gen	To have	0	1063

Table 70. Long and short verb forms after te (*raw data*)

te_VS	te_VL	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
1	15	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
2	26	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	6	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	10	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF	TLC
2	8	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
5	8	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
2	29	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
0	13	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
0	8	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF	TLC
0	4	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-IF	TLC
2	15	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
0	6	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
2	18	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	14	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
2	10	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	3	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	9	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
3	1	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
0	15	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
6	8	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-IF	Vacherie MLC
2	21	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
2	19	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	8	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	4	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
1	5	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
1	15	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	3	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
1	2	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
1	5	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	17	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	5	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
2	6	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
3	18	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
2	17	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
3	31	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
1	12	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	10	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	8	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	2	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 71. Long and short verb forms (mixed-effects logistic regression).

	Usage of short form verbs after *te* *te* V_S vs. *te* V_L		
Model formula	VARIABLE[VLS] ~ VARIETY + (1|ID)		
Model basics			
Total N	334		
Intercept	-1.449		
Deviance	184.7		
R^2 Total	0.000291		
	N	**Proportion**	**Factor weight**
Significant fixed effects:			
VARIETY ($p < .001$)			
Mississippi	31	.452	.778
Teche	303	.0627	.222
Non-significant fixed effects:			
GENDER			
EDUCATION			
HOMETOWN			
SCHOOLTOWN			
SCHOOL			
BIRTHYEAR			
LANGUAGES			
Random effects:			
ID	*Intercept* = 0		*Levels* = 27

Table 72. Auxiliary of volition (raw data)

ve	ole	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
0	20	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
4	1	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	5	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
2	0	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
0	9	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
3	7	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
0	12	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
4	1	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
3	0	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
0	26	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-RF	TLC
1	3	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
0	8	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	20	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
6	0	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	0	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	12	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
1	0	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
3	14	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
0	9	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
4	3	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-RF	Vacherie MLC
0	3	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
1	10	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
5	0	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
11	0	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
1	0	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
4	0	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	10	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
1	18	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	6	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
2	1	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	6	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
0	13	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
0	34	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
1	41	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	9	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
1	10	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	2	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	3	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	4	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 73. Auxiliary of volition (*mixed-effects logistic regression*)

			ve* vs. *ole
Model formula			VARIABLE[VEU] ~ SCHOOL + (1|ID)
Model basics			
Total N			216
Intercept			1.081
Deviance			100.503
R^2 Total			0.895

	N	**Proportion**	**Factor weight**
Significant fixed effects:			
SCHOOL ($p < .001$)			
White	34	.971	.995
Black	182	.11	.00537
Non-significant fixed effects:			
GENDER			
EDUCATION			
HOMETOWN			
SCHOOLTOWN			
BIRTHYEAR			
VARIETY			
LANGUAGES			
Random effects:			
ID	*Intercept = 3.687*		*Levels* = 27

Table 74. Auxiliary of ability (raw data)

PEU	KAPAB	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
20	0	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
11	0	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
6	0	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
1	0	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	1	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
16	1	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
11	0	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
16	0	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
22	0	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-RF	TLC
10	1	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
2	0	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
7	5	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
12	0	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
1	0	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
16	0	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
14	0	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	0	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
5	2	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
2	0	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-RF	Vacherie MLC
5	0	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
13	0	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
2	0	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
5	0	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
10	0	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
8	0	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
11	0	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	6	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
1	0	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	3	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	4	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
0	7	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
0	19	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	44	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	12	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	9	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	4	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	1	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 75. Auxiliary of ability (*mixed-effects logistic regression*)

		pe* vs. *kapab
Model formula	VARIABLE[PEU] ~ SCHOOL + (1|ID)	
Model basics		
Total N	236	
Intercept	8.074	
Deviance	65.782	
R^2 *Total*	0.0378	
Non-significant fixed effects:		
GENDER		
EDUCATION		
HOMETOWN		
SCHOOL		
SCHOOLTOWN		
BIRTHYEAR		
LANGUAGES		
Random effects:		
ID	*Intercept* = 6.687	*Levels* = 27

Table 76. Remote past marker bin (raw data)

BIN	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
0	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
1	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
0	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
1	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
1	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
0	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
0	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
0	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-RF	TLC
0	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
0	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
1	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
0	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-RF	Vacherie MLC
0	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
0	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
0	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 77. Continuative aspect marker (raw data)

STÌL	TOUJOUR	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
5	0	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
0	1	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
4	0	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
5	2	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
0	2	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
0	0	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-RF	TLC
0	0	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	1	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	0	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
3	0	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
1	0	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
3	0	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
1	0	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-RF	Vacherie MLC
3	0	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	2	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	4	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	1	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
1	3	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	3	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
0	0	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
0	0	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	0	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 78. Continuative aspect marker stil (mixed-effects logistic regression).

	toujour* vs. *stil		
Model formula	VARIABLE[STILL] ~ SCHOOL + (1|ID)		
Model basics			
Total N	42		
Intercept	0.229		
Deviance	26.24		
R^2 *Total*	0.0636		
	N	**Proportion**	**Factor weight**
Significant fixed effects:			
SCHOOL ($p < .001$)			
White	14	.925	.925
Black	28	.107	.0751
Non-significant fixed effects:			
GENDER			
EDUCATION			
HOMETOWN			
SCHOOLTOWN			
VARIETY			
BIRTHYEAR			
LANGUAGES			
Random effects:			
ID	*Intercept* = 0.605		*Levels* = 27

Table 79. Copula (raw data).

NP se NP	NP ɔ NP	NP se AP	NP ɔ AP	NP se PP	NP ɔ PP	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES
		1	3			BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN
2			4			BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN
			3			BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN
3			4			CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF
2			3			DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN
	1		10	1	1	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN
3		1	2		3	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN
3		2	1	4		GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN
4		0	1	1		GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-IF
1			1			HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-IF
1			1		1	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN
1						LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN
1		1	4			LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN
1		0	1			LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN
						LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN
6		3	13			MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN
0		1	2	1		MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF
4	1	1	5		2	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN
1	1	1	2	1	1	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN
						MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-IF
2	1	1	4	1		MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN
			5			MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN
	4		6			PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF
			3		1	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF
	3		1			SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN
			1			TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN
			3		1	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF
			1			INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	Cade	Cade	Unknown	LC-EN
		1	2			INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN
1		3				INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN
4						INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN
						DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN
						TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC
						INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC
1						FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC
						FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC
						FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC
						FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC
						FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC
						FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC

Table 80. Vowel rounding, [y]~[i] (raw data)

Y	I	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
7	23	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	14	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	11	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
26	0	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
8	17	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
4	14	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
10	17	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
20	1	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
13	1	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
9	24	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-RF	TLC
21	6	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
2	11	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
12	20	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
20	4	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
7	7	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
1	17	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
32	4	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
4	32	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
10	15	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
7	22	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-RF	Vacherie MLC
25	8	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
3	17	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
36	10	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
40	1	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
27	4	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
31	5	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
7	5	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
1	12	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
4	15	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
7	29	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
8	2	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
0	0	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
5	37	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
21	78	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
4	25	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
4	24	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	1	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
1	9	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	6	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 81. Vowel rounding, [*y*]~[*i*] (*mixed-effects logistic regression*)

	[y] vs. [i]		
Model formula	VARIABLE[Y] ~ SCHOOL + (1|ID)		
Model basics			
Total N	692		
Intercept	0.727		
Deviance	667.669		
R² Total	0.522		
	N	**Proportion**	**Factor weight**
Significant fixed effects:			
SCHOOL ($p < 0.0001$):			
White	275	0.891	0.842
Black	417	0.321	0.158
Non-significant fixed effects:			
GENDER			
EDUCATION			
VARIETY			
HOMETOWN			
SCHOOLTOWN			
BIRTHYEAR			
LANGUAGES			
Random effects: ID			
	Intercept = 0.955		*Levels* = 27

Table 82. Vowel rounding, [œ] ~ [ɛ] (*raw data*)

OE	EH	ID	GE	SC	DOCY	BIRTH	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAG	VARIETY
2	12	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	18	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	9	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
44	3	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
3	3	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
3	4	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
0	24	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
27	1	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
52	3	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
13	6	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-RF	TLC
18	14	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
10	1	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
23	6	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
33	4	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
6	3	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
2	5	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
26	2	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
1	15	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
14	18	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
1	41	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-RF	Vacherie MLC
12	3	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
0	17	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
9	0	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
43	7	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
18	0	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
23	1	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
42	2	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
0	0	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
9	0	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
1	0	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
2	0	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
0	0	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
0	21	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	21	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	12	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	5	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	1	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	4	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
0	2	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 83. Vowel rounding, [œ] ~ [ɛ] (*mixed-effects logistic regression*)

[œ] vs. [ɛ]

Model formula	VARIABLE[OE] ~ SCHOOL + (1|ID)	
Model basics		
Total N	647	
Intercept	1.188	
Deviance	468.571	
R^2 Total	0.7	
	N	**Proportion**	**Factor weight**
Significant fixed effects:			
SCHOOL (p < 0.001):			
White	296	0.929	0.883
Black	351	0.427	0.117
Non-significant fixed effects:			
GENDER			
EDUCATION			
VARIETY			
HOMETOWN			
SCHOOLTOWN			
BIRTHYEAR			
LANGUAGES			
Random effects:			
ID	*Intercept* = 1.898	*Levels* = 27	

Table 84. Vowel rounding, [ø] vs. [e] (raw data)

EU	E	ID	GENDER	SCHOOL	DOCYEAR	BIRTHYEAR	SCHOOLTOWN	HOMETOWN	EDUCATION	LANGUAGES	VARIETY
18	16	BB	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
1	52	BF	M	B	2017	1956	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	6	BM	F	B	2017	1925	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
14	0	CF	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
14	14	DB	F	B	2017	1927	Breaux-Bridge	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN	TLC
0	18	EO	M	B	2017	1941	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
11	35	GB	F	B	2017	1951	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Postgraduate	LC-EN	TLC
25	0	GL	F	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Cecilia	Undergraduate	LC-EN	TLC
26	0	GT	F	W	2017	1946	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN-RF	TLC
21	6	HW	M	B	2017	1956	Holy-Rosary	St-Martinville	Postgraduate	LC-EN-RF	TLC
21	18	LA	F	B	2017	1933	None	Breaux-Bridge	None	LC-EN	TLC
5	7	LC	F	B	2017	1949	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
22	8	LD	F	B	2017	1956	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	HS	LC-EN	TLC
31	0	LM	F	W	2017	1937	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
5	2	LW	F	B	2017	1932	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
6	23	MB	F	B	2017	1940	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	ES	LC-EN	TLC
27	0	MH	M	W	2017	1956	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
6	12	ML	F	B	2017	1935	Vacherie	Vacherie	Postgraduate	LC-EN	Vacherie MLC
23	15	MM	F	B	2017	1945	Parks	Parks	HS	LC-EN	TLC
15	21	MN	M	B	2017	1939	Vacherie	Vacherie	HS	LC-EN-RF	Vacherie MLC
30	4	MR	F	B	2017	1944	Cecilia	St-Martinville	ES	LC-EN	TLC
3	20	MY	F	B	2017	1944	Parks	Parks	ES	LC-EN	TLC
17	0	PB	M	W	2017	1931	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Undergraduate	LC-EN-LF	TLC
40	1	RM	F	W	2017	1942	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
25	0	SC	M	W	2017	1950	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
45	2	TL	M	W	2017	1951	Cecilia	Henderson	HS	LC-EN	TLC
32	3	VL	F	B	2017	1952	Cecilia	Cecilia	HS	LC-EN-LF	TLC
7	12	INH85CC	F	B	1985	1899	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
49	15	INH85BG	M	B	1985	1906	Parks	Parks	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
6	22	INH85JB	M	B	1985	1918	Cecilia	Cecilia	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
5	9	INH85LO	F	B	1985	1928	Breaux-Bridge	Breaux-Bridge	Unknown	LC-EN	TLC
0	0	DU	M	B	1935	1860	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC-EN	Early TLC
0	0	TP	M	B	1916	1840	St-Martinville	St-Martinville	Unknown	LC	Early TLC
1	62	INH87	M	B	1876	1816	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
37	99	FO1894DA	M	B	1894	1818	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
9	28	FO1894J	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
16	23	FO1894V	M	B	1894	1810	Vacherie	Vacherie	Unknown	LC	OLC
1	9	FO1894M	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
3	11	FO1894NO	F	B	1894	1810	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC
3	16	FO1894F	F	B	1894	1830	New-Orleans	New-Orleans	Unknown	LC	OLC

Table 85. Vowel rounding, [*ø*] *vs.* [*e*] (*mixed-effects logistic regressions*)

	[ø] vs. [e]		
Model formula	VARIABLE[EU] ~ SCHOOL + (1|ID)		
Model basics			
Total N	766		
Intercept	2.55		
Deviance	600.259		
R² Total	0.754		
	N	**Proportion**	**Factor weight**
Significant fixed effects:			
SCHOOL ($p < 0.001$):			
White	253	0.988	0.95
Black	513	0.454	0.0505
Non-significant fixed effects:			
GENDER			
EDUCATION			
VARIETY			
HOMETOWN			
SCHOOLTOWN			
BIRTHYEAR			
LANGUAGES			
Random effects:			
ID	*Intercept* = *1.563*		*Levels* = 27